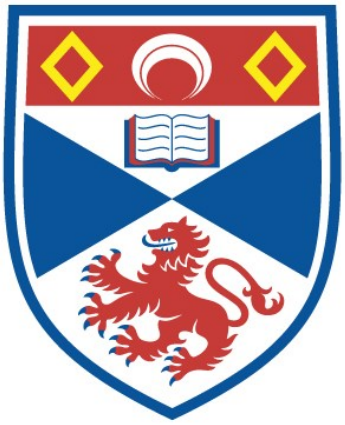
NIKOLAI KUL'BIN AND THE UNION OF YOUTH, 1908-1914

Jeremy Howard

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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ABSTRACT

The first exhibition organised by Nikolai Kul'bin opened in St. Petersburg in April 1908. It marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the art of the Russian capital, and introduced many young artists to the exhibiting environment and the public. While still firmly within the symbolist tradition it was these artists who strove to renew and broaden the visual language of painting. The aim of this thesis has been to trace the developments in this process that started from *fin-de-siècle* symbolism and reached, via Neo-Primitivism, a climax in Cubo-Futurism. This is achieved by a survey of the composition and events surrounding Kul'bin's group "Triangle" and the art society that grew out of it, "The Union of Youth", from 1908 to 1914.

As a group Triangle existed for three art seasons between 1908 and 1910. Chapters One and Two examine the growth and changes in the group in this time. The adoption of an aesthetic of "free creativity" and synaesthetic principles, the psychological impressionism of Kul'bin and Matyushin, and the association of ideas with literary symbolism are examined. The notion of art as an abstraction from nature is studied with reference to Markov's theories and the art of the Union of Youth exhibitors in Chapter Three and succeeding chapters. In addition, the originality of the establishment of the Union of Youth in the Russian context, and the overlap of ideas and artists with Triangle is discussed.

The provision of this new forum for unestablished artists stimulated many developments in the visual arts, not least the progress of Neo-Primitivism, which, as seen in Chapter Four was even transferred to the theatre. The Union of Youth's production of "Khoromnyya Deistva" is seen to presage Markov's notion of "constructive" and "non-constructive" art, examined in Chapter Five, as well as the zaum transrationalism of Malevich, Matyushin and Kruchenykh in the Futurist opera The Victory over the Sun.

The Union of Youth's role in creating the ambience appropriate for such ideas is analysed and in the second half of the thesis it is seen that while the group backed these modernist tendencies, most of the member-artists actually failed to be truly innovative in their own art. The dependence on developments in Munich and Paris, and the inter-relationship of these artistic centres with Petersburg are studied in the light of the retention of a mystical-symbolist aspect in the art of the Petersburg avant-garde.

I, Jeremy Charles Howard, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 123,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 11th October 1990

Signature of Candidate

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1984 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in March 1985; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews and the University of Leningrad, between 1985 and 1990.

Date 11th October 1990

Signature of Candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date 3rd October 1990

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In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews I wish access to it to be subjected to the following conditions: for a period of five years from the date of submission, the thesis shall be withheld from use. I understand, however, that the title and abstract of the thesis will be published during this period of restricted access; and that after the expiry of this period the thesis will be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright in the work not being affected thereby, and a copy of the work may be made available to any bona fide library or research worker.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Nikolai Ivanovich Kul'bin and "The Union of Youth" Society of Artists established what can be termed the St. Petersburg avant-garde. Although Kul'bin never participated in Union of Youth events, his group, variously called "Triangle", "The Impressionists", "The Art and Psychology Group" or a combination of these titles (hereafter referred to as "Triangle"[1]), had very close ties with the founding of the Union of Youth, as well as with the ideas and the art that it produced. These ties make it worthwhile examining both groups together in order to understand their development. Kul'bin must be credited with creating the environment for the birth of the Petersburg artistic avant-garde by his organisation of exhibitions, lectures and publications from April 1908 onwards. The Union of Youth was the foremost group to exploit the opportunities developed by Kul'bin. For four years from early 1910 the Union of Youth determined the direction of modern art in Petersburg. This thesis traces the history of both Triangle and the Union of Youth between 1908 and 1914.

An important and unprecedented feature of both Kul'bin and the Union of Youth was that neither was limited by parochialism or dogma. It can be argued that their breadth of outlook primarily stemmed from Kul'bin's position as an untrained artist and 'outsider' to the art establishment. Their diversity hints at a certain synthesism, which became apparent in their attempts to unite the visual, musical and literary arts. They welcomed contact with all artists concerned with renewal in the arts and frequently

took steps to broaden their spheres of activity - both geographically and creatively. Thus they attracted artists from Moscow, Lithuania, Latvia, south-west Russia and the Ukraine, and took their exhibitions to Riga, Vilnius and Moscow.[2] Other exhibitions were planned further afield, in Baku, Rome, Berlin and Helsinki, and talks were held with Scandinavian and German artists.[3] The Union of Youth planned a museum of modern art, an idea circulated by Kul'bin, and in 1912 sent one of its members abroad to purchase works and get acquainted with European movements.[4] He wrote back to the group's chairman: "In order to get to the heart of German decadence I had to prolong my stay in Berlin, go to Hamburg and Hagen and visit Cologne".[5]

It could be argued that it was this very lack of parochialism and dogma that led to the swift collapse of the groups, and that naive immaturity and lack of confidence hindered the creative development of the groups. Certainly, their all-embracing qualities, together with the call for modernisation, led to the participation of many amateur artists and students who subsequently gave up painting, as well as to many divergent views. Yet ultimately, the brevity of both groups' existence was primarily the result of their calls for continual self-appraisal and change. Moreover, it was this very openness to ideas that stimulated the development of certain individuals, such as Sophia Baudouin de Courtenay, Olga Rozanova, Iosif Shkol'nik, Konstantin Dydyshko and Vladimir Markov.

Western scholarship has tended to underestimate the contribution of the Petersburg avant-garde groups between 1910 and

1914, and has concentrated more on the Moscow developments such as "The Blue Rose" and "Golden Fleece" salons, as well as such major figures as Kazimir Malevich and Vladimir Tatlin. When Kul'bin and Triangle are mentioned, they are generally dismissed as "decadent" or "neo-symbolists", and the Union of Youth is mistakenly labelled "Cubo-Futurist" on the basis of its production of Victory over the Sun.[6] Such evaluations have obscured the significance and diversity of these two groups.

In order to elucidate the development of Kul'bin's ideas and the Union of Youth, this study seeks to establish an accurate chronology. In this way the relationship to symbolism can be clarified. The extent of the symbolist heritage in Kul'bin and the Union of Youth is seen through discussion of their aesthetics and ideas in relation to Russian and Western symbolist literature and painting. This leads on to an examination of the emergence of Neo-Primitivism in Russia, and the relationship of this new trend to Western developments, such as Fauvism. Within the Russian context, developments in Moscow, especially the art and ideas of Mikhail Larionov and Natal'ya Goncharova, and the interchange of ideas between Petersburg and Moscow, is studied.

The aesthetic liberalism of Triangle and the Union of Youth, showed a continuity with the approach of the World of Art. In the late 1900s and early 1910s, this created the circumstances for new experimentation: young artists were able to exhibit their work for the first time and to discuss their ideas in a totally new environment. The concentration on technique led to the development of new artistic principles which moved away from figurative art.

Yet, neither Kul'bin nor the Union of Youth were concerned to establish a school. The varied titles of Kul'bin's group point towards its mutable identity: it was simultaneously interested in symbolism, science and the subjective expression of the artist's relation to the world. While stressing the importance of the artist's individuality and expressive freedom that allowed him to distort reality, Kul'bin regarded the result as an objective truth. For him, the artist could choose to show the essence or meaning of a thing rather than the concrete object, or he could rely entirely on visual appearances. Either way he could produce genuine art. Although Kul'bin still believed in the objective world, his art was essentially perceptual and synthetic. Such was his 'impressionism', which owed more to Russian Symbolism, the Austrian literary impressionism of Altenberg and Schnitzler, and Post-Impressionism, than to French Impressionism. Kul'bin's sense of symbolism was encouraged by the belief that the world's enigmas can be unlocked by the application of certain vital, abstract keys.

Kul'bin's ideas influenced the Union of Youth, whose name implies that the most important factor unifying them was their age as artists, not any stylistic trend or established worldview. This thesis attempts to show that although they were influenced by Neo-Primitivism, they cannot be identified with a single trend. It also argues that their 'ecletic' nature, and that of Triangle, was not strictly detrimental but, as an inherent part of their *raison d'être*, provided them with the means to experiment and develop.

This study examines the art and theory of various prominent individuals from each group, as well as the development of the

groups as a whole. Their exhibitions are used as a primary source of information, since they were the most regular and clear demonstrations of their work. These are backed up by relevant details from minutes of group meetings, members' letters, unpublished essays and reports. Other valuable sources are found in their publications, lectures and, in the case of the Union of Youth, stage productions.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. These follow the seven "art seasons" from early 1908 to early 1914. Chapters One and Two concentrate on Kul'bin's activities and ideas between 1908 and 1910. Chapter One discusses Kul'bin's first exhibition, "Modern Trends in Art", and the extent to which it embodied his theories about the psychological aspect of art. The nature of Kul'bin's 'impressionism', mixed as it is with *Art Nouveau*, symbolism, realism, Post-Impressionism and synaesthesia is also analysed. Triangle's symbolist heritage and the relationship with Ryabushinskii's Moscow journal The Golden Fleece [Zolotoe runo] is studied. The collaboration with the Moscow group Wreath is also examined. Chapter Two focuses on how these *fin de siècle* roots developed into a basis for the re-examination of the formal principles of painting. A study of the three Triangle exhibitions in 1909 and 1910 in conjunction with Kul'bin's lectures of those years, allows an appraisal of the artistic identity and potential of both. The notions of 'idealistic' and 'realistic' symbolism, taken from the extended discussion of the terms in The Golden Fleece, are used to describe the approach of the Triangle artists. Special attention is paid to Kul'bin's synthesism, i.e. his study

of colour music and the association of his work with the 'monodrama' theory of Nikolai Evreinov.

Having charted the aesthetic limitations of Kul'bin and the Triangle group, the focus of the thesis turns to the Union of Youth. Chapter Three examines the reasons why several artists broke with Kul'bin and founded the Union of Youth. After charting the establishment and aims of the group, particular attention is paid to the overlap in style and ideas between it and Triangle. This is examined with reference to the first two Union of Youth exhibitions and Markov's article "The Russian Secession". The latter is discussed in relation to Kul'bin's aesthetics in order to emphasize the shift towards Neo-Primitivist principles.

Chapter Four concentrates on the Union of Youth's 1911 production of "Khoromnyya Deistva".[7] The performance of Tsar Maksem'yan and his Disobedient Son Adolf clearly showed the use of 'high' and 'low' art traditions, and the emphasis on the non-sequential, formal approach of Russian folk drama. This is interpreted as marking a breakthrough for the establishment of the new creative principles of Neo-Primitivism. The shifts in time and space and the use of the absurd, the mixing of the mythological and the realistic reflect many aspects of the Union of Youth's future development, some of which are also seen in the analysis of the group's third exhibition. The continuing influence of symbolism is examined, particularly in reference to Filonov's work and that of the Moscow Neo-Primitivists.

Chapters Five to Eight follow the developments within the Union of Youth between 1912 and 1913. Chapter Five focuses on the

events of early 1912, including the relationship with Larionov and the Donkey's Tail. An analysis of the contents of the first two issues of The Union of Youth journal elucidates the similarities and differences between Markov's conception of 'constructive' and 'non-constructive' creative principles and Kul'bin's 'free art'. It also seeks to establish the range of the Union of Youth's interests: from German Expressionism and Italian Futurism to Persian miniatures and Chinese poems.

Chapter Six looks at the Union of Youth's relationship with the Moscow artists Larionov and the Burlyuks in late 1912. An exposition of David Burlyuk's lecture on Cubism, and his declamatory, anti-establishment style begins a discussion of the reception and fusion of Cubist practice and Futurist ideas that is significant for the subsequent development of the Union of Youth. The group's sixth exhibition indicates the emergence of new stylistic trends, particularly the decorative primitivism of Shkol'nik and Rozanova and the rôle of nature in Mikhail Matyushin's art. The introduction of Cubist, Futurist and Rayist principles in the exhibits of the Muscovites, including Malevich, Vladimir and David Burlyuk, and Larionov, is also assessed.

Chapter Seven discusses the Union of Youth's position in early 1913. The debates on the new painting and literature of March 1913 are seen to promote the Futurist ideas of Malevich, David Burlyuk, Aleksei Kruchenykh, Rozanova and Vladimir Mayakovsky. The association of these five artists and poets with the Union of Youth is analysed in order to establish the extent of their influence on the identity of the group. The pace of their experimentation

outstrips that of most Union of Youth members and their accommodation within the group, or within 'Hylaea', its 'autonomous' literary counterpart, comprises a considerable part of the ensuing enquiry. The new pitch of the factionalizing tendencies within the avant-garde is examined with reference to the breakdown of the Union of Youth's relations with Larionov. The contents of the third Union of Youth journal and the group's Credo reveal a break with the earlier liberal, unifying attitudes, and a new aggressive attitude which calls for a reappraisal of artistic values. The responses of Avgust Baller, Burlyuk, Matyushin and Rozanova to European developments highlight the influence of Futurism, Cubism and symbolism, while also indicating the continuation of an underlying metaphysical approach.

Finally, Chapter Eight traces the development of the "transrational" aesthetic in the Union of Youth's final period. The examination of the group's seventh and final exhibition reveals that the combination of Neo-Primitivist, Cubist and Futurist techniques does not deny a spiritual content in the work of the Russian avant-garde. This is complemented by an analysis of the Union of Youth's staging of Victory over the Sun and Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy. It is argued that "Khoromnyya Deistva" set an important precedent for the content and form of these stage productions. The Union of Youth's publication of Markov's essays is also discussed with a view to establishing the relation of Markov's 'primitivist' ideas concerning the interpretation of art of other cultures with the development of the Union of Youth's aesthetic.

Unless otherwise stated all translations from Russian are by the present author. Titles of groups, exhibitions, works of art, lectures and stage productions have been translated into English. Within the text, titles of books and important journals, such as The Golden Fleece and The Union of Youth, are given in English, the first entry being followed by the transliteration of the Russian original. A capital letter is used for Impressionism, Cubism etc., when it signifies the specific artistic movements; lower-case letters denote practices divorced from the original movement (e.g. "Kul'bin's impressionism"). Russian dates are given in the Old Style.

Abbreviations: TsGALI - The Central State Archive for Literature and Art, Moscow; cat. - Number of exhibit in exhibition catalogue. The British Standard system of transliteration[8] is used throughout the thesis. Exceptions include proper names of European origin, such as Benois, Baudouin de Courtenay, or of artists who are generally known by other versions, such as Chagall, Vrubel and Kandinsky.

FOOTNOTES

1. 'Triangle' was the name most commonly used for the group. However, its exhibitions were usually referred to as "The Impressionists".

2. See, in particular, Chapters Two, Three and Five.

3. See, in particular, Chapters Two, Four, Eight and below, Footnote 5.

4. See Chapter Six.

5. Letter of V.I. Markov [V. Matvejs] to L.I. Zheverzheev (undated), TsGALI, Fond 769, opus 1, edinitsa khraneniya 438, list 1. In this letter Markov also stated that he had talked with Herwarth Walden, of Der Sturm, about bringing the Italian Futurist exhibition to St. Petersburg some time after August 1913 and taking a Union of Youth exhibition to Berlin; that he had agreed to exchange Der Sturm and The Union of Youth journals; and that he had talked with a Cologne gallery concerning an exhibition of the Russian avant-garde in 1914.

6. See Chapter Eight. J. Bowlt, "The St. Petersburg Ambience and the Union of Youth", Russian Art 1875 - 1975: A Collection of Essays (New York, 1976) pp. 112 -129, redresses the balance to some extent. Although his examination of Kul'bin and the Union of Youth is limited to a few pages, he succeeds in identifying significant trends and events.

7. Concerning the translation of "Khoromnyya Deistva", see Chapter Four, Footnote 11.

8. See the guide to the transliteration of Russian in C. Picken (ed.), The Translator's Handbook, (London, 1983), p. 243.

CHAPTER ONE: EARLY 1908: NIKOLAI KUL'BIN AND THE "MODERN TRENDS IN ART" EXHIBITION

THE "MODERN TRENDS IN ART" EXHIBITION. St. Petersburg 26 April - 20 May 1908

Kul'bin's Idea and the Historical Background

Dr. Nikolai Ivanovich Kul'bin's[1] influence on the Petersburg art world has long been underestimated, yet he made a valuable contribution which changed exhibiting practice and exerted a profound influence on the ideas and art of the Russian avant-garde. He introduced non-professionals and young artists to the public, and from his own position as an untrained 'outsider', adopted a stance which allowed both anti-establishment art and anti-high art. This, in turn, contributed to the evolution of Neo-Primitivist styles.

Between 1908 and 1910 Kul'bin organised four art exhibitions, delivered many lectures and published several articles on his theory of artistic experience. His ideas were essentially those of a psychologist looking at art as a language of symbols that signify the relationship between man and the world. This enabled him to call for a free art, reflecting the "three aspects of the psyche... consciousness, feeling and will".[2] Kul'bin's triadic conception of experience has much in common with Andrei Bely's three-term formula for the symbol as image, idea and their vital connection. Like Bely, his attempt to embody this in his art did not contradict

realism but rather sought to establish a methodology of conceptually grasping reality. He called his group "Triangle-The Impressionists" and appears to have derived his notion of impressionism from Bely:

> Kul'bin dwelt in detail on the essence of impressionism. This is a new direction in art, reproducing the first spontaneous impression, it does not recognise the separate existence of music, literature and the plastic arts - the studio of impressionist artists does not involve mutual obligations, but is united by a general artistic direction which they call the pyschological *impressio*. They reflect their intimate experiences in psychological art, avoid everything that is preconceived, forced or deliberate, and love a single, free art and the new, because art is always new. "They are not decadents, and have not come to destroy but to construct" said Kul'bin. [3]

This compares with Bely's symbolist interpretation and thereby encompasses not only the French Impressionists' concern with optical reality but also a metaphysical reality:

> Realism is only an aspect of impressionism.
> But impressionism, i.e. a view of life through the prism of experience, is already a creative view of life. My experience transforms the world; by going deeper into experience, I delve more deeply into creativity; creativity is, at the same time, the creativity of experiences and the creativity of images. The laws of creativity are the only aesthetics of impressionism. But these are the aesthetics of Symbolism. [4]

The question of whether Kul'bin's theories, his initiative in organising the Modern Trends and Triangle exhibitions, and the establishment of the Union of Youth Society of Artists in 1910, heralded the dawning of a new era for Russian art, was hotly debated at the time. [5] In retrospect, it is clear that while much of their art bore the distinctive marks of a symbolist heritage, a new creative spirit had emerged among the young artists and this spirit was to become the driving force behind the break with the

art establishment and the creation of a vital, and essentially new, modern art.

Many contemporary critics, whether antagonistic or sympathetic, failed to understand this art. Yet the movement gained a large following among the younger generation of Russian artists. They appeared to believe vehemently in themselves and argued bitterly, even within their own circles, about their rights to be the champions of modernism.

The Union of Youth grew out of Triangle and in opposition to it. The overlap of ideas, together with the conflict in personalities and practice, is essential to an understanding of the development of the Union of Youth. Kul'bin searched for new aesthetic possibilities, discarded all rules and conventions and was stimulated by recent discoveries in science and psychology. The Union of Youth was the first and most important group to be inspired by Kul'bin's ideas and developed his call for a synthetic and psychological art into a vital and modern approach.

On 26 April 1908 Kul'bin's first exhibition, "Modern Trends in Art", opened in the halls of Nevskii Prospekt's 'The Passage'. For the Petersburg public this was something quite new, for not only were totally unknown artists exhibiting for the first time, but they were exhibiting with established painters of various tendencies. Moreover, artists from the extreme avant-garde and conservative tendencies were drawn together. The Burlyuks' Wreath group, champions of the current modernist trends, were to be found alongside artists, such as Nikolai Bogdanov-Belskii[6] and Genrikh

Manizer[7], who exhibited with the Wanderers and the Petersburg Society of Artists.[8] Notable by their absence were the young Moscow symbolists and impressionists, such as Pavel Kuznetsov, Nikolai and Vasilii Milioti, Mikhail Larionov, Artur Fon Vizin and Natalya Goncharova.

Those participating in their first exhibition included Boris Ferdinandov, who showed works divided into two groups - "Subjective Feelings" and "Problems of Objective Existence"; Vasilii Nechaev, a blind artist; Kul'bin himself; Eduard Spandikov whose decadent graphic works were to appear that autumn in the Petersburg magazine Spring [Vesna]; Meri Anders; Ludmila Shmit-Ryzhova; Zoya Mostova; Iosif Shkol'nik and many others. Of these, Shkol'nik, Spandikov and Mostova (together with Valentin Bystrenin, who was also associated with this exhibition but failed to exhibit, or at least appear in the catalogue[9]) went on to be founder members of the Union of Youth.

The aim of the exhibition was subsequently outlined by Kul'bin in a review of Sergei Makovskii's "Salon 1909" in Petersburg.[10] The vast majority of exhibitors at Makovskii's show belonged to the famous Union of Russian Artists[11], while young and unestablished artists were excluded. Kul'bin complained that the Union was not so much a unifying organisation as simply a society whose members had similar approaches to art, and to whom the "idea of the joint existence of several artistic directions" had not occurred. He attributed this to the generally low level of culture in Russia and the failure of artists to develop their social consciousness, valuing only themselves or their party and not recognising all

other artists' rights to independence. He outlined his idea of a salon, stating that it should be an exhibition of independent artists as in Paris, where there is no jury, where there is freedom of expression for each group and where the concern was not commercial but social. He regarded "Modern Trends in Art" as an attempt to achieve this: it had embraced seven totally independent groups and allowed unbiassed information about the aims of modern art and the ideas of the artists to be read to visitors.

Kul'bin also considered that exhibitions should be organised by representatives of the artistic community rather than by businessmen. Hence the organising committee of "Modern Trends" included Lev Bakst, Nikolai Kalmakov and the sculptor Vasilii Kuznetsov. Initially it was hoped to put the show on at the start of 1908 but, because of the unavailability of venues, it was postponed until 26 April.[12] The groups consisted of Wreath, Triangle: The Art and Psychology Group, The Union, The Neo-Realists, Academic Trends and The Architectural Group, as well as the "Majolica Group" (which consisted solely of the ceramicist Vaulin). In addition two non-aligned artists, Ferdinandov and Nechaev, took part.

Some groups were undeniably under-represented, largely because their members were exhibiting their most recent works elsewhere. For instance, many members of Wreath, based in Moscow, were missing - essentially those who were showing at the first Golden Fleece salon in Moscow and the independent "Wreath" show in Petersburg. The Union of Russian Artists was also lacking many who had been involved in its show the previous month. Other groups, such as the

Neo-Realists, the Academic Trends and the Architectural group, though newly formed for the show, contained artists with well-established reputations. Only Kul'bin's "Triangle" group and the two non-aligned artists were hitherto completely unknown to the Petersburg public.

The great difficulty encountered in analysing the works presented at "Modern Trends" is that the paintings have all but disappeared, and in the vast majority of cases only catalogue entries, unreliable memoirs and contemporary reviews remain as evidence of their existence. While the works' probable content and form can often be reconstructed from consideration of this material and surviving works by the artists executed during the same period, such assertions are necessarily speculative. Whereever possible, analysis is supplemented by an account of the contemporary ideas and aims of the artists, and their historical context.

Ultimately, the exhibition itself was only a limited success and attracted a wide variety of reactions. Bakst, one of the organisers, was despondent:

> It is awful, i.e. completely '*indépendant*'; there are good works by Burlyuk, something new and promising in the majolica of Vaulin, 'visiting cards' of Benois, Bilibin, Lansere, Ostroumova and Bakst, and a sea of vile works - this is the first, and in my opinion, extremely unsuccessful attempt at a joint "Salon"!![13]

Other critics, like the Golden Fleece [Zolotoe runo] correspondent[14], were more upset by the chaotic arrangement of the exhibition than the quality of the art. Metsenat, called it "some kind of farrago, a blend of representatives of the most opposing directions in painting, from the so-called 'far left', who paint

with mops, to the market rubbish which it is possible to see in shop windows".[15]

The majority of reviewers were optimistic. Dubl'-ve found the arrangement of works comprehensible - "Starting from the entrance the paintings of the "extreme left" revolutionaries in art, who recognise no form and deny the necessity to copy nature, are distributed consistently"[16], and ending with the Neo-Realists and Group of Academic Trends so that "overall the exhibition creates a pleasant impression."[17] Most found the idea of bringing together the various directions that had sprung up in Russian art new and worthwhile. Although the exhibition was inadequate in some areas, this did not detract from the original conception. Thus Simonovich was able to write:

> ... this exhibition, while falling far short of its grand title, is highly remarkable: and it is remarkable in that it sets out in special relief the co-existence here in Russia of the most varied of artistic groups and individual artists. This is especially striking.[18]

Kul'bin's broad understanding of the term 'modern' was adequately illustrated, as was his sympathetic approach to all fields of art. This tolerant outlook can also be found among the Union of Youth founders. Even so, Yanchevetskii's "hope that this experiment at rapprochement between artists of various trends develops into something more sound and permanent"[19] was not to be realized. Kul'bin never again attempted to organize such an exhibition. Indeed, during the next two years Kul'bin focused on his own group and the development of his own ideas. Such a process of definition led to differences of opinion and approach among the group's members, a factor which contributed to the formation of the

Union of Youth.

Ultimately, the importance of "Modern Trends" lay in its introduction of new and young artists to the Petersburg exhibiting world and it is with these that this chapter is primarily concerned. Still, by the juxtaposition of academicians and avant-gardists it broke the traditional rules of art societies and by showing new, untried talents to the public revealed both the latter's prejudices and conservatism. Kul'bin's impartiality put various approaches on an equal footing for the first time. He introduced himself to the art world with this statement about the equality of artistic trends and henceforth was able to concentrate on the development and expression of his own ideas.

By recognising the right to existence and freedom of expression of all art groups and tendencies Kul'bin acknowledged the new, multifarious state of Russian art in the 1900s. His was perhaps the first attempt to show the full range of creativity and diffusion of talent that epitomized the period generally known as the Russian "Silver Age" - an age when a vital cultural rebirth was taking place.

Following the death of Alexander III in 1894, after a long period of semi-isolation and cultural stagnation, contacts with Europe were intensified. St. Petersburg had been the centre for Western influences entering Russia for almost two centuries and it was here that The World of Art [Mir iskusstva] was organised by Diaghilev and Benois in 1898. The founding of this journal and art society was one of the first concrete steps in the development of

Russian modernism. Its philosophy was based on anti-academism and dislike for the social realism of the Wanderers. Diaghilev stressed the aestheticism of the group: "The great power of art resides precisely in the fact that it is an end in itself, that it is self-availing, and above all - free."[20]

The journal paid particular attention to the development of European *Art Nouveau* and reproduced works by Beardsley, Burne-Jones, Van de Velde, Denis and Puvis de Chavannes. Only in 1904, shortly before the journal's closure, was attention given to Post-Impressionists, such as Gauguin and Van Gogh. One of the magazine's aims had been to acquaint the Russian public with recent developments in the "world of art" and it acted as an important stimulus for artists in particular. Despite its anti-academism, The World of Art presaged Kul'bin's stance by combining a generally tolerant attitude towards the aesthetic views of its young contemporaries with a predominantly symbolist orientation.

The World of Art closed in 1905, during the early months of the Revolution. The quality of aristocratism and reserve, typical of St. Petersburg, and particularly expressed in the group's interest in antiquity and the publication of mystical-symbolist poetry, meant that its 'progressive' qualities were severely limited by a certain decadence. By January 1906 the inaugural issue of The Golden Fleece, a new journal aspiring to encompass art and literature appeared in Moscow. It was owned by Nikolai Ryabushinskii, the son of one of Moscow's *nouveau riche* merchant-industrialists, it emphasized, and, indeed symbolized, the sometimes contradictory shifts of values after the Revolution.

Members of the new entrepreneurial class in Moscow had followed Pavel Tretyakov's lead in collecting art and opening their collections to the public. Collectors and patrons with more cosmopolitan and "modern" tastes than either Tretyakov or the founder of Abramtsevo, Savva Mamontov, emerged. Ivan and Mikhail Morozov built up large collections of French art. Sergei Shchukin began collecting works by Denis, Redon, Cézanne, Gauguin, Matisse and Picasso, and, by opening his home on Sundays to those interested, introduced, together with The Golden Fleece, the Post-Impressionists to Russia.[21] Mikhail Ryabushinskii purchased works by Benois, Degas, Pissarro, Renoir, and Vrubel. His brother Nikolai, the editor of The Golden Fleece, bought "modern French and Russian works, especially [that of] the Symbolists and Neo-Primitivists."[22]

The importance of The Golden Fleece in establishing the modernist movement in Russia cannot be overestimated.[23] In the first two years of its publication, that is, until Kul'bin's "Modern Trends", the journal's principal interest was in art and art criticism. The first issue was devoted primarily to Vrubel, the second to Somov, the third to Borisov-Musatov, and the fourth to Bakst. All four artists personified The Golden Fleece's rejection of contemporary society and quest for universal relevance in art. The prominence given to Vrubel (Plate 1.2) and Borisov-Musatov, was especially important as it recognised them as the spiritual forebears of the avant-garde.

Although The Golden Fleece never really established an official aesthetic position, its synthetic approach to culture

echoed Borisov-Musatov's synthesism:

> The endless melody which Wagner found in music also exists in painting. This melody is in the melancholy northern landscapes of Grieg, in the songs of medieval troubadours and in the romanticism of our Russian Turgenevs. In frescoes, this leitmotif is an endless, monotonous, impassive line without angles.[24]

This was expressed in the correspondence between illustration and text as well as in a number of early theoretical articles; for example, Bely's tribute to Borisov-Musatov, "Garlands of Roses" was accompanied by Bakst's drawing The Sound of the Bells, dedicated to Borisov-Musatov's memory[25]; Blok's "Colours and Words"[26]; and Imgardt's "Painting and Revolution".[27] Significantly, Blok considered poetry not as an art of sounds alone but as a combination of "colour and line" and called for the preservation of a childlike susceptibility to nature through the use of pure and distinct colour. Anticipating Kul'bin, and with him, Čiurlionis, Skryabin and Kandinsky, Imgardt conceived "visual music and sound painting", that is, a non-figurative and synthetic art, as a consequence of the artist's intuitive impulse.

During 1908 and 1909 The Golden Fleece presided over the argument for realistic symbolism (symbolism grounded in nature) as opposed to idealistic symbolism (symbolism grounded in the 'supernatural'). This was commenced by Ivanov in an article about the state of modern symbolism[28], and taken up by Blok and Bely (who adopted opposing positions), and Chulkov, the new literary editor of the journal, who proposed a mystical anarchist philosophy. It was preceded by the debate on individualism in art which had begun with Benois' tacit attack on the Moscow symbolist painters for

their heretical rejection of the principle of canon and formula[29], and to which Voloshin contributed with a defence of individualistic art as a manifestation of the creative unconscious.[30]

Ryabushinskii patronised the new Russian avant-garde of Kuznetsov (Plate 1.3), Petr Utkin, Larionov, Goncharova, Nikolai Sapunov, Sergei Sudeikin, Fon Vizin, the Milioti brothers, and Martiros Sar'yan and exposed them to the public, either through publication in his journal or through display in the exhibitions he organized. As early as the fifth issue of The Golden Fleece in 1906, the twenty-nine photographs of work shown at Diaghilev's final "World of Art" exhibition in Petersburg concentrated on Kuznetsov, Milioti, Sar'yan, Nikolai Feofilaktov and Larionov. A year later the pictorial section of the journal was dedicated to the same artists, as participants in "The Blue Rose" exhibition, which had been financed by Ryabushinskii. Similarly, the first issue of 1908 reproduced forty-eight pictures from the Union of Russian Artists and Wreath-Stefanos exhibitions and concentrated on the contributions of the "Blue Rose" artists, while ignoring the most radical artists at the shows, the Burlyuks and Lentulov.

The promotion of the Moscow symbolist painters by The Golden Fleece was to the exclusion of European art. Indeed, only in mid-1908, after the first Golden Fleece salon, was modern French art reproduced for the first time. As a result of this policy, by the time of "Modern Trends", the Petersburg artists had had considerable opportunity to assimilate the art of the "Blue Rose" artists, which Stupples has vividly summarized:

> The paintings... could... be divided into two major themes and related styles, organic symbolism and romantic pantomime.

> Organic symbolism treats the canvas as a field upon which to explore fluid and multipotent colour relationships, through which could be grasped figures, objects and landscapes only related to the dreamprints of the mundane, visible world: colour is primary, the intention mythopoetic. The majority of artists belonged to this tendency, including Kuznetsov, Nikolai Milioti, Sapunov, Utkin, Sarian and Knabe. Romantic pantomime treats life as theatre, the figures are puppets dressed in costume dancing across the stage of life, detached, condescending, playful and coquettish. More persuaded in this direction were Drittenpreis, Arapov, Feofilaktov, Vonvizin and Sudeikin. These later artists were close to the spirit of the World of Art, though they lacked an interest in draughtsmanship, and shared the symbolists' interest in colour and primitivism. The lines between these groups cannot clearly be drawn.[31]

In addition, "Blue Rose" artists showed in Petersburg both before and after the Blue Rose exhibition: at the twelfth exhibition of the Moscow Association of Artists, which opened on 15 January 1905 (Kuznetsov's exhibits included Evening, Morning, Ecstasy, Melancholy); at the World of Art, which opened on 27 February 1906 (Nikolai Milioti's exhibits included Motif from Verlaine, The Ringing); and finally, if too late to influence contributions to "Modern Trends", at "The Wreath", which opened on 21 March 1908 (this combined the "Blue Rose" element at the Union of Russian Artists' Moscow exhibition of January 1908 with their counterparts from the simultaneous Wreath-Stefanos show).

TRIANGLE: The Art and Psychology Group

The Triangle group, led and dominated by Kul'bin (see Plate 1.1), consisted at the time of "Modern Trends", of fifteen artists and sculptors.[32] Of these only Kalmakov had previously exhibited. It is not known how or exactly when the group came together, but since its creation was due to Kul'bin's initiative it probably originated in the autumn of 1907, shortly after he had taken up painting seriously.[33] Many of the artists have since slipped into obscurity. Yet written and visual material concerning the foremost figures, especially Kul'bin, provides a reasonably full picture of the group's aims and works. The bulk of this material relates to Kul'bin's exhibitions and lectures in the two years following "Modern Trends" (discussed below and in Chapter Two). However, Triangle's identity at "Modern Trends" can be defined by concentrating on the more important artists, such as Kul'bin, Spandikov, Shkol'nik, Kalmakov and Shmit-Ryzhova, and, whereever possible, outlining their artistic ideas in 1908.

a) Nikolai Ivanovich Kul'bin (1868 -1917)

Kul'bin's ideas are crucial to understanding his art. It is significant that in publications concerning the group he employed the symbol of the triangle rather than using the written word. One of the earliest mystical symbols, it was commonly used by the theosophists, then popular in Russia.[34] Kul'bin's triangle

consisted of the three primary colours, yellow, blue and red. These colours, the three sides of the triangle, represented "idea, feeling and will, which comprise in their complex, the human soul".[35]

Kul'bin expounded his artistic ideas through the media of his paintings, the organisation of exhibitions, articles and lectures. His illustrated lectures and proclamations at exhibitions were powerful and complete personal expressions, which included the important aspects of visual and aural impressions. The first lectures he gave were to the Society of Architects and Artists[36] and at M. A. Rigler-Voronkova's school in Petersburg. Their content was reported to have been similar to those he gave later in Vilnius in the winter of 1909-1910.[37] These lectures, in turn, relate closely to his articles published in The Studio of Impressionists [Studiya impressionistov][38] and the course of lectures "Free Art as the Basis of Life (Past, Present and New Trends)" delivered to the Petersburg Society of Peoples' Universities in the spring of 1909.[39] These, plus two other published works[40], express the essence of Kul'bin's early aesthetic theory.

Kul'bin's lecture, "The Theory of Artistic Creation", given at the Society of Architects and Artists in November 1909, was the first to attract critical attention:

> ... Kul'bin himself confessed the lecture had an incoherent and fragmentary nature. Frankly, this lecture occasionally resembled a fast gallop through jumbled up piles of all possible ideas from the fields of aesthetics, the psychology of artistic creation, the theory of technique, painting etc., with short explanations of ideas, unexpected excursions into various fields and still more unexpected and original examples, like the cook who knocks seven times on the bed with her heel in order to get up at seven o'clock. Some things about the aims and techniques of the newest painting were

> interesting, but the trouble was that the diction and the comically authoratitive tone of the speaker were completely unsuitable for the generally elementary character of the lecture.[41]

In fact, Kul'bin deliberately adopted an odd form of delivery, replacing logical argument by non-sequential statements and aphorisms. This was compounded by his military uniform and high-pitched voice. He irritated some, largely because of his authoratitive manner and lack of structured reasoning. He broke the rules of science, art and oratory, without giving the listener anything tangible to grasp. His conception of a work of art was described in short, fragmentary phrases - the form of his speeches being as significant as the content. Such ideas, with their emphasis on intuition, had rarely been expressed, least of all in such a way. His disregard for logic and his concern for the latest scientific and philosophical discoveries, was to have repercussions in the art of the Russian avant-garde. It can be argued that it stimulated the eventual development of zaum [i.e. transrationalism] by Viktor Khlebnikov, Aleksei Kruchenykh, Kazimir Malevich and Mikhail Matyushin, as well as the theatrical productions of the Union of Youth.

In the "Theory of Artistic Creation" Kul'bin presented art as a psychological action, neither wholly rational nor wholly intuitive, but a mixture of the two. He regarded art as an attempt to represent man's perception of nature and his place within it. He presented his precepts in typically aphoristic form, hinting at what he meant without embellishment:

> ... In order to acquire a suitable mood the artist must disregard everything. The only important thing is that the

> disregard must be of a conscious character. Deliberate weakness of drawing often produces brilliant results. Mood is also created by severity of style, by the striving for novelty etc.. In art what is important is not that which is represented but how it is represented. Art is not a copy, but a convention, a symbol. The work of art must, before all else, affect a creative itch in the imagination of the viewer. Art is a play and the artist is an actor. He must pretend: half-open the secret and veil the known. Incompleteness is primary. The viewer must embellish the picture.[42]

It is clear that Kul'bin emphasised psychological cause and effect as fundamental to the nature of art. For him, art is born of man's inner self and as a response to the world, but is created by the viewer as well as the artist. They are united in their task and without one another, the artistic process is incomplete.

Kul'bin never dismissed the art of earlier epochs but considered it relevant because it manifests aspects of the creative unconscious. For him, "art is revelation... the unmasking of invisible things" and "only a few loving hearts have a gift for reading the ideas of art in the great works of art of the past."[43] Yet, always the artist and viewer are only the purveyors and perceivers of "the great art that exists in nature, natural art".[44] This closely relates to Ivanov's conception of realistic symbolism, where art, as a representation of the phenomenal world, and having its roots there, reveals the essential nature of things and their place in the divine scheme.[45]

Similarly, much of Kul'bin's theory, with its pantheistic symbolism, recalls Maksimilian Voloshin's contribution to the debate among the Russian Symbolists about individualism and tradition in art:

> ... the canon is vital and productive only when there is a struggle against it, in other words, when the spirit is not

> located completely within its body and the framework of the canon shakes from the tension of inner creative forces... The aim of art is not to be a mirror of its epoch, but to transform, to clarify and to create with the surrounding nature. Art is the justification of life. That which is recorded by the brush or the word has become justified and visible. People do not see those things which are not noted by the exclamation marks of the artist. But is not the exclamation mark the typographical symbol of the Holy Spirit's language? The creative act is the descent of the spirit into matter.... There then ensues a new creative act - the perception of the work of art by the viewer or listener. The ascent of the spirit then begins... That which we call perception and understanding is in fact the self-determination of the artwork which has realized itself in the soul of the viewer.[46]

Like Voloshin, Kul'bin regarded the act of artistic creation as one of conscious intuition. So man's psyche was the subject matter rather than a visually represented object, and "the psychology of the artist [was] the source of the theory of artistic creation."[47] This psychological and symbological approach to art was soon to find most striking parallels in Kandinsky's work.[48]

Where Kul'bin differed from Voloshin was in his call for scientific analysis and experiment in art:

> The self can know nothing but its own sensations and through the processing of these sensations creates its own world... No one can jump out of themselves... The only method for truth... is experiment, observation and generalization and this is all based on the impressions of the researcher.[49]

Believing that art originated from the natural world, that is itself a work of natural art, Kul'bin considered an observational approach essential. His aim resembles Bely's desire

> to describe mechanisms, phenomenologies of behaviour, rather than create yet another ideational world view that sought to explain purpose and meaning, to give prescriptions for behaviour. He wanted to replace the splitting mechanisms of idealogies with an open-ended programme of research.[50]

How far were Kul'bin's ideas realised in his art? Almost inevitably his exhibits reflected a knowledge of Post-Impressionism and, to a lesser extent, an espousal of symbolist motifs. The critic Yanchevetskii, reviewing the exhibition, noted that: "Kul'bin does not recognise the brush or the blending of colours; he puts balls of pure colour on the end of a knife in the hope that the eye receives the desired impression at a distance."[51] He added that the result sometimes restricted the spectator's ability to comprehend the painting. The critic Dubl'-Ve complemented this description of Kul'bin's technique: "Without recognising the mixture of colours and by smearing them, he attains a variety of tones by placing several dabs of various colours next to one another."[52] Despite some reservations that Kul'bin was being over-ambitious in attempting to express the ineffable, Dubl'-Ve found that the artist approached "nature from a completely new angle"[53], and with greatest success, in Avenue (cat. 102) and the Crimean studies (cat. 115).

Kul'bin's use of colour was generally praised, although the Pointillism he employed in some works was criticised as naive: "... he does not understand colour harmony as he should, and in his studies presents brightly coloured images of the human body, which even from afar do not lose their false speckled appearance."[54] Yet this technique led Simonovich to find Kul'bin the strongest contributor to Triangle: "Kul'bin... excels in a prismatic medley, remarkably softened, which is evidence of a certain strength of colour".[55] His only reservation was that the artist should find more imaginative use for the colour ideas.

These comments are reinforced by Petrov-Vodkin, who also left a note about Kul'bin's technique of the period:

> One of the first people I met after my arrival in Petersburg [early November 1908] was Kul'bin... he was studying mosaic painting. He would pick the paste off a crayon and with a small knife daub it on the canvas - I must confess this was a rather confused, but original Pointillism and these exercises of N.I. [Kul'bin] were not at all lost on the "exhibitions of the youth".[56]

N. Kravchenko found evidence that Kul'bin "is a competent artist, who feels light and colour"[57] in the works Wharf in Yalta, Pine Trees, Autka and Zhalita. K. L'dov, on the other hand, considered the "expression of the face of his Model [as] evidence of the artist's talent, but unfortunately his draughtsmanship is insufficiently worked out."[58] The same critic also, somewhat obscurely, noted an "extreme naturalism"[59] in which a decorative sense was perceptible. L'dov's criticism of Kul'bin's draughtsmanship indicates that, in accordance with his theory, Kul'bin deliberately distorted, or inadequately defined his forms. He was certainly capable of accurate drawing for, although he had received no formal artistic training, he had studied anatomical illustration and some of his scientific and medical texts[60] contained his highly detailed and precise illustrations of human organs.

A number of Kul'bin's works shown at "Modern Trends" were also displayed at his one-man exhibition in 1912.[61] The booklet[62] that accompanied this later show indicates that the exhibits consisted primarily of watercolours and oils. One review of this show gave a disparaging, but intriguing description of Siren, a work that had

also been shown in 1908:

> Among Kul'bin's huge women, Siren is undoubtedly distinguished in both her stoutness and nudity.
> Siren basks on something (it is unclear whether it is grass, sand or a mast) and smiles blissfully. It is apparent that she is dreaming of her godfather, a military clerk.
> He promised to arrive without fail and to bring a present, and Siren, looking forward to the rendezvous, has rolled her bloated eyes upwards in an abundance of happiness.
> Still it is difficult to say what kind of Siren the representative of the last word in 'symbollocks' in art wished to depict: a Siren with whom people fall in love, or a Siren who howls at ships.
> Whichever it is, Kul'bin's Siren is totally unsuitable.[63]

It is unfortunate that these words are all that survive of this painting, which was clearly an example of Kul'bin's early symbolism. They are, however, corroborated by the following description, almost certainly of the same work, found in Vasilii Kamenskii's memoirs.[64] Although these recollections are unreliable in many respects, this description, together with that of Kul'bin proclaiming his ideas in front of his works, appears highly appropriate for the opening of "Modern Trends":

> Looking at the paintings, Chukovskii was absolutely beside himself and cried out in his thin tenor "Brilliant! Ravishing! A naked green girl with a violet navel - who is she? From which primitive island? Can I be introduced?"...
> "But why is she green? Couldn't she just as well have been made violet and her navel green? That could be even more elegant." said Breshko-Breshkovskii.
> "She's a drowned woman" 'tenored' Chukovskii.
> Next to the "Green Woman" stood an unsmiling and scholarly looking doctor in a military frock coat. This middle-aged gentleman with the prominent cheekbones and fiery eyes explained:
> "We are impressionist artists. On the canvas we give our impression, that is impressio. We reflect things on the canvas as we see them without taking into consideration the banal notions of others about the colour of the body. Everything in the world is relative. Even the sun is seen by some as gold, by others as silver, others as pink and still others as colourless. The artist has the right to see things as they appear to him - that is his absolute right."...
> Chukovskii announced loudly: "That's the artist himself,

> part-time lecturer at the Military Medical Academy, Doctor Nikolai Ivanovich Kul'bin."
> "Mad doctor" someone shouted from the crowd...
> "Well what an exhibition! What an Homeric success!" cried Breshko-Breshkovskii...[65]

Kul'bin's "impressionism" only occasionally resorted to mythology for its symbols. Indeed, Siren, together with The Monk and the Diva, are the only works in the exhibition catalogue that appear not to be landscape or portrait studies.

Kul'bin's art is dominated by a varied approach. He painted realistic landscapes (Plate 1.4) and portraits, Pointillist studies and, by 1912-1913, simplified, geometricized Cubist and Futurist compositions.[66] Although the critics noted a Post-Impressionist use of colour in the paintings shown at "Modern Trends", Pointillist technique is not evident in Kul'bin's surviving pre-1910 work. Still, in two landscapes reds, yellows and blues enrich the picture with intense brightness. One of Kul'bin's earliest works, Simeiz (1907, Plate 1.5), is a small watercolour study of the Crimean coast. The artist has adopted a high viewpoint, looking out over the tops of three trees and a stone wall to the sundrenched sea. The horizontal, stratified blue and orange effect of the sea gives some sense of spatial recession, but this crude linearity is too uniform and too flat to be interpreted purely as ripples on the water surface. Still, light and shade are represented consistently and establish the naturalism of the work.

The second landscape, an oil, that Blank[67] later identified as Coast at Kuokkala (Plate 1.6) uses a similar colour scheme, although it depicts the Gulf of Finland rather than the Black Sea. The viewpoint is lower, but the horizon is as high as that of

Simeiz. The illusion of space, guided by the curve of the beach, is less ambiguous than in the Crimean study. Kul'bin's psychological impressionism is felt in the naivety of colour relationships and the freeing of colour from form. The sky, a loose conglomeration of pale blue, pink, white and red, is vertically striated. The same colours, enriched and set in a contrasting horizontal direction, comprise the sea and wet sand. Only the pale yellow line of the beach, the diagonal of the boat in the foreground and the white surf of the shallow waves near the shore interrupt the dominant horizontal/vertical play of the canvas.

A different sense of simplified form is found in a third landscape (Plate 1.7) which may well have been shown at "Modern Trends" as Pine Trees (cat. 112). Here a line of small pine trees on a gentle slope stretches across the foreground of the painting. Beyond lies the white emptiness of an ice-covered lake and the line of the forest on the far bank. The trees are almost transparent because of the lack of definition and the thinly applied paint. This produces a lack of focus in the painting that evokes the atmosphere of winter on the Gulf of Finland - the dominant feeling of cold contrasts with the warmth of the seascapes. Indeed, the shimmering effect, with its pale colours and light touch, contrasts with the bolder, more physical treatment of paint in Coast at Kuokkala. Yet, despite the use of diffused forms, lack of firm delineation and opaque painting in Pine Trees, both works indicate a striving for an evocation of mood through the use of light.

b) Other Triangle Artists

Throughout the two years of its existence Kul'bin dominated Triangle, acting as the group's spokesman as well as its leader. No other artist attracted similar critical attention and no other artist has left behind so many early works. From the catalogue titles and contemporary reviews it appears that in 1908 many of the Triangle members combined impressionism and symbolism in a similar way to Kul'bin. This is certainly the case, for instance, with Anders', Nikolaev's, Mostova's and Meister's work. However, the emphasis was switched to a concentration on mythological motifs and fantasy in the work of two artists, Kalmakov and Shmit-Ryzhova.

Nikolai Konstantinovich Kalmakov (1873-1955)[68], a member of the "Modern Trends" selection committee[69], was second only to Kul'bin in press coverage. At the Petersburg "Autumn" exhibition of the previous September, Kalmakov had participated in the 'symbolist section', showing some allegorical studies. Kornei Chukovskii was extremely unimpressed: "There is a certain Mr. Kalmakov who has stirred Stück, Klinger, Sasha Shneider and Beardsley into one ugly mixture - added his own complete graphic inability, poverty of imagination, utter disharmony of line, and all the colours of the rainbow...".[70]

Kalmakov's symbolism was much more lavish and 'idealistic' than Kul'bin's. His work is based in the imagination rather than in direct and detailed observation of nature. While Kul'bin was attracted to a bold re-interpretation of the mundane, Kalmakov was drawn to a bold interpretation of the exotic. He freely borrowed themes and motifs from ancient and primitive mythology and, of all

the Triangle artists, was the closest to the German *Jugendstil*.

In subsequent years Kalmakov was to become a regular contributor to the World of Art exhibitions and an established theatrical artist. He had a one-man exhibition in Petersburg in March 1913 and thereafter his works were reproduced in the glossier Petersburg art journals.[71] However, his early paintings were not reproduced and have now disappeared. Those shown at "Modern Trends", all of which were watercolours, appeared in the catalogue under the general title of Centaur although other titles were given in the reviews. Simonovich provides the most helpful description of the works:

> Some of Kalmakov's drawings are interesting in their ideas. There are beautiful colour combinations in his Tropical where the artist has succeeded in catching in colour and line an original exotic motif. The finish and definition of drawing and the tones, which are completely smothered by the fantastry of the idea, hinder the integrity of the impression. His Evening is more successful: on a background shot with copper trees is a green bench and, as if wilting in the evening melancholy, a statue. This is a most candid work, flowing from a momentary impression - something which cannot be said of his major canvases, Moloch and Centaur, where one feels the strong influence of Stück without the temperament of Stück; or more precisely his paraphrasing of an already well used stereotyped symbol, that has come into fashion from the ball which Belkin and Stück started rolling.[72]

Yanchevetskii also noted Kalmakov's fantastic symbolism: "His Eros, drawn in imitation of medieval frescoes, in hazy tones, is beautiful: a huge centaur rushes across the glade under the light of the rising moon. The exotic picture Tropical has a quite original fantasia with the ornamentation of the Polynesian islands."[73] This interest in allegory, the exotic and erotic, was to remain a common feature of Kalmakov's work for several years.

The contemporary descriptions suggest that the decorative

sense of his "Modern Trends" exhibits did not differ greatly from that of the later works. For example, the flat decoration of Death (1913, Plate 1.8), with its embellished bronze and silver, sets the mood of the picture. The symbolic figure of the black swan princess hovering over the huddled old man is entwined with stylized foliage that is essentially *Art Nouveau* in its curvilinearity. The abundance of the swirling artificial plant forms almost conceals the black night with tiny gold stars, out of which the apparition of the black swan of death appears. The effect is of a tapestry design. The wan shapeless figure of the old man, showing no limbs but being enveloped by pale orange and yellow clothes, melts into the general pattern as if passing into death. This fantastical, decorative image, with its latent eroticism, is reminiscent of Klimt (for example, Music (1898), shown at Klimt's 1903 exhibition, Vienna).

Similar tendencies are found in Kalmakov's Woman with Serpents.[74] This dark painting, uses bronze in the woman's necklaces and crown. The black body of the eastern princess-like figure, naked but for the bronze bands of jewellery, is depicted frontally. The princess holds, over both arms and set against a dark purplish background, long black and white spotted snakes. Like Von Stück, who also painted The Snake Bride (1894), Kalmakov's females are morbid, sensual and sinful and he uses serpents and oriental effects to emphasize this. Such elaborate "Secessionist" imagery was rare in Triangle in 1908, only finding expression in Shmit-Ryzhova's work (which included two studies of Salomé). No other artist concentrated to the same extent as Kalmakov on the

mythology of Eastern cultures, and his rhythmically structured and highly detailed treatment appears unique in the group.[75]

Ludmila Shmit-Ryzhova[76] also adopted a symbolist interest in the exotic qualities of the East, and a similar commitment to decorative form. Her work, especially that shown in the later Triangle exhibitions, received considerable critical acclaim and she remained one of the most consistent contributors to Kul'bin's group. Unfortunately the four works, The Dance of Salomé, Salomé[77], Eastern Fantasy and The Worship of Gold, that Shmit-Ryzhova contributed to "Modern Trends" have disappeared, and the reviewers only hinted at her *art nouveau* tendency. L'dov considered the works "pure imitations of Vrubel"[78] while Simonovich felt the fantastic imagery executed "with much taste, even too much taste"[79] - to the extent that the prettiness of the Salomé paintings prevented them from conveying the terrifying emotions of the Biblical tale.

Other artists in the Triangle group at "Modern Trends" included three who were to play significant roles in the development of the Petersburg avant-garde. The first was Eduard Karlovich Spandikov (1875-1929), a co-founder in 1909 of the Union of Youth, who had arrived in Petersburg from Poland in order to continue his career in medicine.[80] Simultaneously he began to study at a private Petersburg art school.

Spandikov's work does not easily fit in with the general pattern of impressionism and symbolism of Triangle, although he still belongs to the *fin de siècle* tendency of the group. He

exhibited seventeen, mostly untitled, works, the majority of which appear to have been sketches in the manner of Toulouse Lautrec or Steinlen. The only works with titles were Thoughts, Dance and Masks. Simonovich noticed a dilettantism, "a superficiality of knowledge and absence of form".[81] He did not deny their effectiveness or the artist's talent, but felt that Spandikov had "locked himself in the narrow field of painterly sketches and stands at an impasse before the more important problems."[82]

It is difficult to challenge Simonovich's criticism, given the lack of visual evidence available.[83] In 1908 and subsequent years Spandikov's work appears eclectic - ranging from an Ensor-like interest in masks, death and sleep-walkers to a Redon-like study of nature and the psyche. Despite this variety, he long retained an interest in movement (seen in four works entitled Dance at Modern Trends) - an interest that is apparent in his contributions to Spring, a new journal "of independent writers and artists", edited by Vasilii Kamenskii.[84] Spandikov's illustrations were often reproduced in the first ten numbers of the magazine.[85] This work was highly diverse: Lautrec is recalled in Matchish[86], a big black and white sketch of a can-can dancer; a debt to Degas' depictions of women from unusual viewpoints (e.g. The Seated Dancer, 1879, The Hermitage), is evident in the trapezist swinging high above the crowd[87]; Beardsley's eroticism has inspired the delicate rhythmic decoration in the black and white drawings of prostitute figures and women in hats; and finally, when Spandikov depicts an abstract swirl of moving form[88] there is an echo of Van de Velde's Ornament of Fruit (1892) as the linear rhythms used to express movement

leave nature unrecognisable.

Another artist involved in the setting up of the Union of Youth was Zoya Yakovlevna Mostova (1884-1972).[89] She had moved to St. Petersburg after graduating from the Kiev Art College in 1905. In 1907 Mostova attended a short course run by Tsionglinskii at the Academy of Arts.[90] "Modern Trends" was her first exhibition in Petersburg, and she contributed more than twenty paintings and sketches. Although she went on to develop a style of bright colours and simplified form that related closely to that of Petrov-Vodkin and other World of Art artists, such a style is not apparent in 1908. Her exhibits at "Modern Trends" included The Kiss, In the Tavrian Garden, On the Islands and Hollyhocks and suggest diverse themes, if not style. L'dov briefly noted the symbolism of two other paintings:

> Premonition [cat. 182] depicts a carefree young girl, walking through a green glade; in the foreground are dark apparitions that personify the future cares of humdrum life. In The Poet [cat. 185] a 'disfigured' decadent, around whom crowd admiring, bewildered and derisive female listeners is humorously portrayed. The painting has been considered and executed very interestingly.[91]

Any suggestion of a debt to the "Blue Rose" artists in Mostova's work, and, indeed in that of any Triangle exhibitor, is difficult to substantiate without visual evidence. The Petersburg critics, who were aware of the work of Kuznetsov, Milioti, Utkin and Sar'yan through the virtually simultaneous "Wreath" show[92], made no comparison. Still, the titles of work by Iosif Solomonovich Shkol'nik (1883-1926)[93] and Meri Anders show a similar concern with melancholic mood and transient times of day, and were probably inspired by similar sources - Vrubel, Borisov-Musatov, von

Hofmann, Munch and the literary symbolism of Maeterlinck and Verhaeren.

Like both Mostova and Spandikov, this was Shol'nik's first exhibition. He had studied at the Odessa Art College and in 1905 entered the Petersburg Academy of Arts. He left, without graduating, in 1907. Later, as secretary of the Union of Youth, Shkol'nik became one of that group's most important members, helping to shape its direction, both administratively and artistically. Some of his later primitivist landscapes and still-lifes survive, but no work prior to 1910. Sadly, his paintings at "Modern Trends", as well as at "The Impressionists" exhibition of 1909, received no critical attention whatsoever. Titles of the six works exhibited in 1908 include Bright Night, Autumn, Boredom, Sadness and The End of the Day, themes that continue to predominate in 1909 and 1910. These suggest a pervasive interest in the evocation of emotional mood and atmosphere through the study of nature, in contrast to the brightly-coloured and simplified compositions of later years.

Meri Anders, like many of the other Triangle artists, only ever exhibited with Triangle, and once the group had ceased to function disappeared from the Petersburg art world.[94] She showed just twice with the group: at "Modern Trends" and "The Impressionists" exhibition of 1909. Her works at "Modern Trends" included: Woman with a Cat, The Soul, Shadows, Sheaves, Surf, Branches and Combination of Red and Blue. The following year she exhibited Melancholy, Delirium, At Twilight and twelve drawings titled *Blanc et Noir*. The only critical attention she received was

from Yanchevetskii, who found "strong and original drawing in the curious works"[95], and Breshko-Breshkovskii:

> Meri Anders has a whole display board of pen drawings. Some figures are composed realistically, are anatomically correct and even not without skill. But if you observe the naked, lying lady then the head and torso seem normal but the huge legs apparently belong to a caryatid of the Hermitage. In such combinations there is probably some secret meaning.[96]

It is finally worth mentioning the idiosyncratic contribution of Natalya Nikolaevna Gippius (1880-after 1941).[97] She studied sculpture under V. A. Beklemishev[98] at the Petersburg Academy of Arts, from 1903 to 1912. "Modern Trends" appears to have been the first time she exhibited her wooden sculptures. She showed six 'grotesque' symbolist works, described by Simonovich: "The only works in this group in which there is an original imagination... [are by] Gippius... [who] has managed to catch the beauty of the ugly, to discover an organic link in fabled beings."[99] This originality is clearly hinted at in the titles of the works, the last of which was actually a little song: Soothing Rapture, Eagle, Slug, Stones, The Entrants to Heaven, The Crawlers on Earth and "Tyushki Patyushki[100]

Old ladies got carried away

Their bags atremble

The withered ones fall

Pick themselves up and go".

From this picture of Triangle in 1908 it becomes clear that the bulk of the works were symbolist and symbolist-impressionist. Both styles retain a fundamental concern with the nature of

reality, be it metaphysical, optical or both. While symbolism sought the expression of the psyche's relation to nature, impressionism was concerned with conveying intrinsic characteristics of the external world. In Triangle, and in Kul'bin's ideas, these approaches became mixed, perhaps unsurprisingly since they both infer a rejection of the illusory elements of establishment realism, in art that is at once intuitive, analytical and fantastic. However, in 1908 the problems seem only beginning to be tackled and the results of little note.[101]

Ferdinandov and Nechaev

The impressionism of Triangle, with its emphasis on realist symbolism, was reiterated in the work of the two non-aligned artists, Boris Ferdinandov and Vasilii Ivanovich Nechaev. Both reflected Kul'bin's interest in the psychology of art. Their work, hung in the first hall of the exhibition, drew considerable attention in the press, and from these descriptions it is clear that they were among the most innovative of contributors. No biographical details concerning either artist are known.

Ferdinandov participated for the first and only time with Kul'bin. He exhibited nine works in all, divided into two groups - six expressing Subjective Experiences and three Problems of Objective Existence. In both groups Ferdinandov seems to have ignored figurative form and preferred an abstracted representation of reality. According to Simonovich, "a similar disarray is produced in both".[102] L'dov pinpointed a reflection of "dull,

humdrum life, with its wan tones, and some imitation of Japonism"[103] in the Subjective Experiences. Of these he singled out the works Evening, Merriment through Dark Shadows and Joys of Grey: Dull Boredom as having "a choice of colour... distinguished by good taste" while "the image itself [is] more like a decorative pattern than a picture of reality".[104]

This 'pattern' apparently took a more definite "mosaic"[105] form in the two Songs of Spring canvases in the Problems of Objective Reality group, without becoming any more identifiable. This implies that the paintings, which were small in size, were an attempt to describe the non-objective nature of existence through an objectless form of art. Interpretation was thus left to the observer, and naturally, as the reviews indicate, it varied widely:

> "This, it seems, is a view of a house?" noted the lady.
> "No, Maria Gavrilovna, it's a wave; you see, and here is a seagull flying over it..." explains the gentleman.
> "You're mistaken" interrupts a young man, "this is probably some kind of portrait; here is the mouth, here are two eyes and big ears, step back a little and you'll see that I'm right".[106]

In the Leningrad Repin Institute copy of the catalogue, a note is pencilled in alongside the title Merriment through Dark Shadows: "The painting represents a dirtyish street between two black trees". Others, including Kravchenko, considered the artist a nihilist: "Ferdinandov's works... depict absolutely nothing. This is... like a dirty mosaic in oil where form and idea have been completely forgotten."[107] He saw nothing in common between the titles and the "absurdities exhibited"[108], and claimed that the Pointillists had started from similar sources but had been able to achieve "great and extremely interesting effects" apparently

"unknown to Mr. Ferdinandov".[109]

Spectators sought to identify recognisable forms in the paintings, or dismissed them as meaningless nonsense. Yet the ambiguous nature of Ferdinandov's work may represent a remarkable and early rejection of figuration in art. It is difficult to say whether the titles were chosen randomly, represented the idea the artist sought to express, or were adopted after the works had been completed, based on what the images then suggested to the author. In any case, the titles suggest an interest in mood, the psyche and man's relation to nature. At the same time, their variety implies a highly individualistic awareness of existence.[110]

Ferdinandov's work was concerned with exploring man's conception of reality and drew a distinction between subjectivity and objectivity. The abstraction that resulted, indicative perhaps of a relationship with the work of the Burlyuk brothers, especially Vladimir, is also suggestive of the fragmentation of forms seen in Vrubel's work and may be related to that of Mikhail Shitov.[111] At the "Wreath" exhibition in Petersburg a month earlier, Shitov had shown similarly abstract works, that sought to express moods and sounds of music (e.g. Evening Chords, Sounds of Autumn) in a play of colours that could be both "dull and gloomy" and "beautiful and sadly merry".[112] These were "only colours and one should not search for anything else here".[113] Certainly, Ferdinandov's work appears part of the new introspective trend in Russian painting.

Nechaev, who was subsequently to join the Triangle group and contribute to all its exhibitions, showed eight works at "Modern Trends".[114] They attracted much attention from the critics, that

was particularly generated by the idea of a blindman creating works of art. By recognising art as the "revelation of invisible things", Kul'bin's notion of impressionism allowed the creative act to be dependent on inner sight and imagination, and to convey abstract qualities of form. Still, Nechaev's work required interpretation by the spectator far in excess of usual, visually dependent, depictions of reality. As L'dov remarked, hitherto it had only been the reviewers and the works themselves that had been found to be "blind", never the artist.[115]

The artist received substantial praise. One critic even recognised Nechaev as "just about the most interesting artist here".[116] Others felt that the works were "very strong and tonally effective"[117], "have a certain coloristic charm"[118], while also being "naive and fantastic"[119], or simply containing "a beauty of colour and surprisingly gentle combinations of tones"[120]. The effect was one of coloured "splodges"[121] or "foggy spots".[122] Yanchevetskii was perplexed by the beauty of these indistinct forms: "... how the harmony of tones was attained, remains an enigma".[123]

In fact, Nechaev pinned down strips of plasticine on the canvas as outlines, selected colour "by memory"[124], and applied the oil "by touch".[125] The results were said to be reproductions of visual imagination and memory. 'Views' of hills dominated - in the "crimson peaks of Great Mountain, The Alps, and the pinkish-red shades of The Day Dies."[126]

Burlyuk cast some doubt on the means of attaining such successful colour combinations by claiming that Nechaev achieved

them "with the help of his wife".[127] The truth of such a statement is perhaps irrelevant for it is the novelty of the idea and the psychological approach to art that underpinned the creation of such work that is its most important characteristic. Indeed, as L'dov noted:

> "A blind artist is not simply an astonishing thing: it is full of symbolic meaning and serves as a forewarning that the ensuing pictures at the exhibition, especially those of Triangle, the Art and Psychology Group, are to be perceived not with external vision, but with what may be called an inner, spiritual sight."[128]

Artists had often painted from memory, without preliminary sketches or models, but they had never painted from memory with unseeing eyes. Indeed, such a two-dimensional representation implied something totally new. This was the painting of the blindman's vision. Nechaev relied solely on his tactile sense to express something inately visual, but his, and Kul'bin's, concern was with individual perception of the world and the attempt to express this was far more significant than the subject matter.

WREATH

Of the other groups at "Modern Trends", Wreath was the most radical and significant in terms of the future development of the Petersburg avant-garde. It also maintained closest contact with Triangle. Artists often appeared in both groups, or changed between the groups, in various exhibitions. For this reason it is worth briefly outlining here the contribution of Wreath members to "Modern Trends". Wreath, free from Triangle's symbolism, and evidently concentrating on the study of form to a greater extent, was, nevertheless, characterized by a heterogeneous identity.

Wreath was dominated by the Burlyuk family at "Modern Trends". Many of the participants in Wreath's first exhibition, "Wreath-Stefanos" (Moscow, January 1908)[129] were absent, as were all those from the March "Wreath" show in Petersburg. In fact, the latter was an exhibition of a different "Wreath" group which consisted of ten artists (including Anisfel'd, Karev, Chernyshev, Shitov, Chekhonin, Yakovlev and Naumov), only one of whom, Anisfel'd, had previously exhibited.[130] However, this March "Wreath" exhibition, did attract as exhibitors, four artists from the "Wreath-Stefanos" show (Larionov, Utkin, Fon-Vizin and Bromirskii) as well as Pavel Kuznetsov, Nikolai Milioti and Feofilaktov.[131] The reasons why the Burlyuks and Lentulov did not participate in the Petersburg "Wreath" are unclear, but their absence hints at new experiments with form, that the sponsor, Makovskii, could not accommodate. While he welcomed the 'dreamprint' art of the Blue Rose, that "leaves the sphere of decorative art, producing out of itself a beautiful experience of colour mythopoeia"[132], he also expressed

the belief that art could have no future through the further dematerialisation of nature and abstraction common to primitivism.

On 8 April 1908 Burlyuk wrote to Larionov with the following request: "In Peter[sburg] our Wreath will be at the "Exhibition of Free Groups"... Send your works and those of Natalya Sergeevna Goncharova... Invite others... Get Fon-Vizin... Yakulov would be good."[133] None of these artists, including Larionov, appeared at "Modern Trends", possibly because, with the exception of Yakulov, all were exhibiting at the first Golden Fleece salon in Moscow where the cream of the new French artists were also on show.[134] Indeed, the artists requested by Burlyuk never again participated with Wreath-Stefanos, although Larionov spent the summer of 1908 with the Burlyuks on their Chernyanka estate near Kherson, and by autumn the artists were exhibiting together again at the Kiev show, "The Link".[135]

The Wreath section at "Modern Trends" comprised just six artists, four of whom were members of the Burlyuk family (Ludmila Burlyuk-Kuznetsova, David Burlyuk, Vladimir Burlyuk and Vasilii Kuznetsov). Each of the Burlyuks exhibited over twenty works while the other two artists, Lentulov and Ekster, showed just seven works in all. Significantly the "Modern Trends" catalogue contained a short note about the Moscow exhibition of Wreath-Stefanos but failed to mention the Petersburg "Wreath" show. Undoubtedly many of the Burlyuks' and Lentulov's exhibits had been at "Wreath-Stefanos" and for this reason it is worth quoting at length, Muratov's characterization of Wreath-Stefanos:

> It was said somewhere that this exhibition is a continuation of last year's "Blue Rose", but actually this is absolutely

> incorrect... There is no fundamental similarity between these exhibitions. In fact at "Wreath" there is a whole group of searchers for new techniques which would scarcely find itself at home in the "Blue Rose". This group is highly noticeable at the exhibition and it is mainly responsible for the heavy, and oppressive impression that "Wreath" produces. Nowhere else in Russian painting has such a dead, cold and meaningless concentration on technique appeared so openly as in the works of the Burlyuk family. Everything is abandoned here - soul, nature, the eternal aims of art. Here everything is sacrificed to new brush technique, new forms and grouping of daubs. However, in David and Ludmila Burlyuk this is not new - this is simply an echo of that which the Paris Salon des Indépendants went crazy about three or four years ago... Mr. Lentulov joins the Burlyuk family with his artisan painting.[136]

Critics at "Modern Trends" regarded Wreath as the antithesis of the Academic Trends and Neo-Realists, and often dwelt on the works at length. The group was seen as "revolutionary"[137] and as "artists who recognize the abstract form of nature, but who treat it with complete originality."[138] The critics, however, differed on the merits of the "simplification of form... taken to absolute naivety"[139] and a debate ensued concerning the permissibility of such works as art. The abstractions of form brought comparisons with Ferdinandov: "The Burlyuk family... really only differ from Ferdinandov in that instead of square daubs, they paint with little lines and dots"[140].

Vladimir Davidovich Burlyuk (1886-1917), who exhibited twenty-five untitled studies and paintings[141], attracted most attention. He had started exhibiting in Moscow a year earlier but, unlike his elder brother and sister, had never before shown in St. Petersburg.[142] At the beginning of 1908 he contributed to two Moscow shows simultaneously, the fifteenth Moscow Association of Artists exhibition (one work), and "Wreath-Stefanos" (ten untitled

works). While the critic Pavel Muratov found the work at the Association's exhibition "an excellent study"[143], he could not be so positive in his criticism of those shown at "Wreath-Stefanos":

> ... he [Vladimir Burlyuk] has invented his own technique, at least, we have never before seen such right-angled strokes with dots in the middle. Maybe he is happy and proud of his "invention"? If so wrongfully because inventiveness in this sense is endless and of moderate worth. It is easy to laugh at this "patch" technique, but taken seriously what exactly did the artist want with all his squares and dots? Apparently he wanted to represent, almost to draw, the air. But how the modern artist has fallen, how heavily, prosaically and clumsily he has taken up that which was previously never given in the lightness of divine revelation.[144]

Burlyuk's works at "Modern Trends" were also in this style, though by April 1908 he referred to them as "psychological paintings".[145] How far his images attempted to explore the interpretative functions of the sub-conscious is unknown. His works apparently looked like "coloured cobble-stones"[146], with a certain "harmony of colour"[147], and provoked various interpretations, but found little support amongst the critics. Dubl'-Ve complained that "V. Burlyuk's Hunter is simply ugly daubs reminiscent of a signboard clumsily painted by a house-decorator".[148] Simonovich was more explicit:

> He displays confused attempts to find new methods for the expression of new painterly ideas in the covering of the human body, faces and background of the paintings with little squares, circles and other geometrical and non-geometrical figures. Such a conjuring trick with technique, raised to the level of a system, is as far from the true aims of art as a system of letters. And in both situations works of art are vulgarised by elements, and an anecdotal quality, completely alien to them. This is all the more vexing here because some of his works, e.g. Woman in Blue, show a fine artistic taste. A more expedient way out of the difficult situation is found in some of the motifs for glass.[149];

Metsenat likewise:

> ... the works are simple daubs, pretending at depicting "first impressions"... Some works are completely incomprehensible. For example, the canvas with the figure of a woman, covered with dots, like bacteria... If you take a microscope then perhaps it is possible to get such a sight out of nature, but for the naked eye this is bacteria... There are figures, marked all over with some kinds of red lines, that are similar to tattooing. Do the artists really see nature thus? If so they need medical help...[150]

While the subject matter in Burlyuk's works remained ambiguous[151], and incomprehensible to most observers, it was the perceived lack of taste, the deliberate denial of academic technique and the apparent divorce of idea and image, that caused most protest. These signalled a debasement of hitherto accepted artistic values. It appeared that art no longer needed to represent its creator's ideas but rather his feelings or his subconscious. The artist abdicated much of his responsibility for the work, leaving it to the viewer to find his own meaning. In short, Vladimir Burlyuk, by empathising with the barbaric energy, integrity and immediacy of the signboard painter, but without his obvious functional aims, challenged the meaning of a work of art.

Although Burlyuk's later work is better known, the small oil Flowers (Plate 1.10) could have been shown at the exhibition, given its 'lapidary' background of asymmetrical figures. The style is 'primitive'. One point perspective is abandoned and the slope of the table and flat depiction of the vase and dish create ambiguous viewpoints. The forms are delineated with a rather crude *cloisonné* technique, bold brushstrokes and unmixed colour. The awkward, centrally depicted forms and bad colour relate the work to Russian folk arts, and especially to the signboard and lubok, where simplified figures often appear represented in two-dimensional

space against a flat ground.

Surprisingly, David Davidovich Burlyuk (1882-1967), Vladimir's elder brother, exhibited works that the critics considered less radical. Although he had exhibited in St. Petersburg before - at the 1907 Spring Exhibition, at the Wanderers' exhibitions of 1907 and 1908 and at the Union of Russian Artists show in 1907 - he gained little critical sympathy.[152] In Moscow, the critics paid scant regard to his contributions to the fifteenth exhibition of the Moscow Association of Artists in January 1908[153] and the first Wreath-Stefanos show.

At "Modern Trends" Burlyuk's work was received favourably for the first time. Acclaimed as the exhibition's "strongest painting"[154], the triptych Views of an Estate in the Tavria Gubernia was described as having an "airiness and harmony of tone" and expressing "the space and lively nature of the hilly landscape".[155] Generally, the critics regarded Burlyuk's "less extreme landscapes... suffused with a bright mood"[156] as "original depictions of clear sunny days in the Russian south"[157], that were evoked by a technique "combining discrete Pointillism with broad decorative strokes".[158] Simonovich was enthusiastic: "Gentle and delicate in tone, his landscapes are profoundly poetic. In them the striving for original technique has not killed a sincere and deep love of nature. His Garden in Flower is one of the most beautiful paintings at the exhibition."[159]

Such descriptions suggest a relationship between Burlyuk's paintings and Kul'bin's landscapes. Surviving works display a concern for nature and sometimes an interest in experimentation.

Although he did contribute studies of flowers, Burlyuk's exhibits were dominated by vast, empty and flat landscapes, where he was able to concentrate his attention on the depiction of space. The painting Steppe[160], dated 18 March 1908 on the back of the canvas, may have been shown in "Modern Trends" under the same title (cat. 44). It depicts two small farmsteads, one with gates, carts and a fence, that hover between the vast expanses of the flat land and sky. The delicate brushstrokes in both this work and the less striking but not dissimilar Houses on the Steppe (1908, Plate 1.11), produce a tonal harmony and rhythm reminiscent of Monet's The Ice Floes (1880, Plate 1.12). The cool pinks and blues, and generalized forms of Monet are echoed in the foreground of Houses on the Steppe, although the definition of the buildings in the latter disturbs the painterly rhythm by its precise linearity. Indeed, this highlights a greater sense of structure in Burlyuk's work. Burlyuk's space is less illusionistic than Monet's, precisely because of the horizontal interruption that almost divides the painting. Burlyuk's primary concern seems to be a study of space as opposed to Monet's interest in light and colour.

In Houses on the Steppe, Burlyuk's touch is so light that it is the roughness of the canvas that creates the effect of an uneven texture in places. In contrast, Morning. Wind (Plate 1.13) is painted with a thick impasto, that produces deep furrows in the layers of paint that resemble the furrows of the field depicted. The bold, elongated brushstrokes and the rhythmic representation of nature in this, and similar works, show a similarity to that seen in Van Gogh's The Cottages (1890, Plate 1.14).[161] Yet Burlyuk's

tones are dark and sombre, he retains one-point perspective and eschews Van Gogh's curvilinear effect, thereby creating an altogether more naturalistic image.

Ludmila Davidovna Burlyuk had already been a student at the Petersburg Academy of Arts for some years when "Modern Trends" opened. In the early 1900s she had married a fellow student, the sculptor Vasilii Kuznetsov.[162] David Burlyuk later noted[163] that his sister was heavily influenced by the Shchukin and Morozov collections in Moscow, which she visited when travelling between the family home in the south and Petersburg. Certainly her exhibits at "Wreath-Stefanos" had been described, like David's, as "pure imitations"[164] of Cézanne and Van Gogh. However, her works at "Modern Trends" were praised for having "an even better choice of colour" than her brother, Vladimir.[165] She exhibited twenty-one studies from 1907 which almost certainly showed the influence of Post-Impressionism. Simonovich considered her weaker than David, but found it "impossible to deny her a certain strength, if only evident in her Male Portrait."[166] He found her technique "undeveloped" and perceived a "striking inability for self-criticism - for nothing else could explain the desire to exhibit such a tasteless work as In the Mirror."[167]

The two non-Burlyuk family members of Wreath were Lentulov and Ekster.[168] Paintings by Aristarkh Vasil'evich Lentulov (1882-1943)[169] created prior to 1909 are extremely rare and the three studies and portraits shown at "Modern Trends" appear to have been lost. Despite recent claims that Lentulov was employing a style close to the atmospheric symbolism of Borisov-Musatov and Kuznetsov

at this time[170], no evidence of this can be found from what is known of his "Modern Trends" exhibits. Indeed, his appearance here, rather than at the March "Wreath" show or the Golden Fleece salon, especially given Muratov's description cited above, could be seen to contradict this.

But for two new studies and a portrait, Lentulov's contributions to "Modern Trends" were the same as those he had shown at Wreath-Stefanos. There his work had been described as "artisan painting"[171] by Muratov. Now his exhibits were criticised and praised for their originality. On the whole, with the exception of David Burlyuk, he was regarded more positively than other Wreath members, perhaps because his subject matter was more readily identifiable and his colour combinations more conventional. L'dov found the traditional viewpoint and construction of form in Lentulov's portraits was not out of keeping with the simplifications employed: "His Portrait of E.P. Kul'bina [cat.96] consists of just a few tones, but in them you feel the observation of life and a striving to express the truth."[172] He described Lentulov's "attempts to renew the techniques of painting" as "very interesting".[173] This 'renewal' was explored by Simonovich who regarded the artist as the "most mature" of the group: "[He] intelligently and delicately interprets the influence of French Neo-Impressionism and in his decorative works has found those gentle outlines which are most aptly suited to this technique."[174]

This analysis suggests that Wreath showed a greater focus on formal problems and technique than Triangle. Although the realist

symbolism of the latter occasionally used Pointillist technique, but for some of Kul'bin's work, experiments with form appear little in evidence. The Wreath artists were the more innovative and daring in their borrowing from Post-Impressionism, but in 1908 the group was bound together essentially by its rejection of academicism and its desire for a more socially active, revitalised art. To this end it was willing to shock and defy, to ignore all metaphysical symbolism and firmly plant its feet in the conscious, spatio-temporal world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nikolai Ivanovich Kul'bin (1868-1917). Born in Helsingfors (Helsinki). Died in Petrograd. Brought up in Petersburg - entered the Military-Medical Academy in 1887. Graduated as a physician in 1893. Entered the Clinic of Professor F.I. Pasternatskii as a doctoral student. Member of the Society for the Protection of Peoples' Health from 1893. Teacher at the St. Petersburg Military-Medical Attendants' School from 1893. Began to study microscopic drawing in 1888 and micro-photography in 1894. Awarded degree of Doctor of Medicine for dissertation on alcoholism in 1895. Published several scientific articles 1896-1907. Appointed a General and Full State Councillor, 1907. Organiser and participant in exhibitions from 1908. One-man exhibitions - October 1912, June 1918. Frequently lectured on Futurism 1913-1914. Main artist at the Terioki Theatre, summer 1912 and the Queen of Spades Theatre (St. Petersburg) December 1913 - January 1914. Founder member and decorator of Stray Dog cabaret cellar; founder of the Ars society (1911) and the "Spectator" society (1912-1913). Kul'bin's illustrations appeared in many books and almanacs, e.g. N.N. Evreinov, Teatr kak takovoi (St. Petersburg) 1913; I. Severyanin, Tost bezotvetnyi (Moscow) 1916.

2. N. Kul'bin "Svobodnoe iskusstvo, kak osnova zhizni", Studiya impressionistov, St. Petersburg, 1910, p. 12.

3. I.Z., "Lektsiya priv.-dots. N.I. Kul'bina" Vilenskii kur'er (Vilnius), 13 January 1910, No. 175, p. 3.

4. A. Bely "Symbolism and Contemporary Art" (Vesy 1908 No. 10), cited from R.E. Peterson (ed. and trans.) The Russian Symbolists: An Anthology of Critical and Theoretical Writings (Ann Arbor, 1986), p. 102.

5. As will be seen below the critics Rostislavov and Denisov, for example, were ready to recognise the experiments of Triangle and the Union of Youth as part of a modernist revolution in Russian art while critics such as Metsenat and Simonovich were dismissive.

6. Nikolai Petrovich Bogdanov-Bel'skii (1868-1945). Member of the Wanderers exhibiting society. Academician from 1903.

7. Genrikh Matveevich Manizer (1847-1925). Professor at the Petersburg Institute of Baron Stiglitz. Academician.

8. The Petersburg Society of Artists was founded in 1890 as a breakaway group from the Wanderers. They held annual exhibitions in Petersburg and Moscow. Members (who included K. Makovskii, G. Manizer and S. Egornov) were generally of a realist tendency. See V.P. Lapshin. "Razvitie Traditsii Russkoi Zhivopisi XIX veka", Russkaya khudozhestvennaya kul'tura kontsa XIX - nachala XX veka (1908-1917) (kniga 4), Moscow, 1980 pp. 29-78.

9. Valentin Ivanovich Bystrenin (18872-1944) was noted as a participant by O. B-r [Bazankur]. Sankt-Peterburgskiya vedomosti (St. Petersburg) No. 94, 26 April 1908, p. 3. He first studied art under N. I. Murashko at the Kiev Drawing School, then under Tvorozhnikov and Mate at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts (1892-1902), with breaks for poor health. First showed work at the "3rd Exhibition of the Society of Russian Watercolorists", Petersburg, 1895. Worked as stage and costume designer for Troitskii Theatre (1911-1912) and Liteinyi Theatre (1912-1913). After 1913 lived in Bogorodskoe (Moscow province), where he organised and taught at the Bogorodskoe School of Artistic Wood Carving (1915-1937). Taught in the Art Faculty of the Moscow Textile Institute, 1935-1941.

10. Nikolai Kul'bin, "Salon 1909", Luch sveta. (St. Petersburg), 15 January 1909, No. 1, p. 3

11. Union of Russian Artists (1903-1923). Members included F. Malyavin, A. Benois, K. Korovin, K. Yuon, B. Kustodiev, I. Repin, V. Serov, L. Bakst, N. Ulyanov, L. Pasternak, N. Rerikh. Exhibitions were held annually in both Moscow and Petersburg. See V. P. Lapshin. "Razvitie Traditsii Russkoi Zhivopisi XIX veka".

12. O. B-r., Sankt-Peterburgskiya vedomosti op. cit.

13. Manuscript department, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow fond 48, ed. khr. 33, l. 1, cited by G. Sternin, Khudozhestvennaya zhizn' rossii 1900-1910-x godov, Moscow, 1988, pp. 159-160.

14. [anon.] Zolotoe runo (Moscow), No. 5, 1908, p. 74

15. Metsenat, "Vystavka "Sovremennykh techenii" v iskusstve", Peterburgskaya gazeta (St. Petersburg) No. 113, 26 April 1908, p. 2.

16. Dubl'-Ve, "Vystavka sovremennykh techenii v iskusstve", Peterburgskii listok (St. Petersburg) No. 113, 26 April 1908, p. 2.

17. Ibid.

18. M. S. [Simonovich], "Sovremennyya napravleniya v iskusstve", Rech' (St. Petersburg) No. 110, 9 May 1908, pp. 2-3.

19. V. Yan [Yanchevetskii], "Vystavka sovremennykh techenii v iskusstve", Rossiya (St. Petersburg) No. 743, 27 April 1908, pp. 3-4.

20. Sergei Diaghilev, "Slozhnye voprosy" Mir iskusstva (St. Petersburg) No. 1, 1899, pp. 1-2. Concerning the World of Art, see J. Kennedy, The 'Mir Iskusstva' Group and Russian Art 1898-1912, New York, 1977.

21. In 1912 Morozov's collection included 6 Bonnards, 2 Vlamincks, 11 Gauguins, 2 Degas', 5 Denis', 2 Derains, 4 Marquets, 8 Matisses, 5 Monets, 1 Picasso, 2 Pissaros, 4 Renoirs, 17 Cézannes, 2 Signacs.
Although Shchukin had begun collecting French art around 1890 he only turned his attention to the French 'moderns' around 1906.

By 1913 his collection contained 54 Picassos, 37 Matisses, 19 Monets, 13 Renoirs, 26 Cézannes, 29 Gauguins, 20 Derains, 7 Rousseaus. He also had works by Burne-Jones, Van Gogh, Denis, Van Dongen, Marquet, Pissaro, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon, Whistler, Toulouse-Lautrec. See Valentine Marcadé, Le Renouveau de L'art Pictural Russe 1863-1914, Lausanne 1971, pp. 271-277.

Concerning the merchant patrons and their collections, see B. Whitney-Kean, All the Empty Palaces, London, 1983.

22. John Bowlt, "Nikolai Ryabushinsky, Playboy of the Eastern World" Apollo (London) vol. 98, No. 142, December 1973, p. 488.

23. The Golden Fleece generally supported the Moscow symbolists rather than Petersburg modernists. Even so, it had a number of Petersburg correspondents, including Rostislavov, Benois and Erberg. It also devoted much attention to historical issues - e.g. the art of Ivanov, Venetsianov and eighteenth century embroidery.

24. Musatov, letter to Benois, quoted in W. Richardson, Zolotoe Runo and Russian Modernism: 1905-1910 (Ann Arbor) 1986, p. 191.

25. A. Bely, "Rozovye girlyandy" Zolotoe runo (Moscow) No. 3, 1906, pp. 63-65.

26. A. Blok, "Kraski i slova" Zolotoe runo No. 1, 1906, pp. 98-103.

27. D. Imgardt, "Zhivopis' i revolyutsiya" Zolotoe runo No. 5, 1906, pp. 56-59.

28. See V. Ivanov, "Dve stikhii v soveremennom simvolizme", Zolotoe runo No. 3-4-5, 1908, pp. 86-94.

29. See A. Benois, "Khudozhestvennye eresi" Zolotoe runo No. 2, 1906, pp. 80-88.

30. M. Voloshin, "Individualizm v iskusstve" Zolotoe runo No. 10, 1906, pp. 66-72.

31. P. Stupples, Pavel Kuznetsov: His Life and Art (Cambridge) 1989, pp. 86-87.

32. N. I. Kul'bin, E. K. Spandikov, M. E. Anders, L. F. Shmit-Ryzhova, A. Nikolaev, N. Ferdinandov, G. K. Blank, N. K. Kalmakov, M. M. Druzhinina, Z. Mostova, L. Meister, T. R. Liander, I. S. Shkol'nik, N. Gippius, T. Gippius. The latter, Tatyana Gippius, was not mentioned in the catalogue, but a pencilled note in the "Modern Trends" catalogue, Repin Institute, Leningrad refers to her exhibits (see Footnote 97).

33. According to Kul'bin's daughter, he took up painting in the summer of 1907 while in the Crimea (Conversation with the author, November 1987). See also Footnote 62.

34. For Andrei Bely the "tripartite construction of symbols", that is the image, the idea and their vital connection, was a central principle of his system of aesthetic criteria. A triangle represented metaphysical harmony i.e. "a large triangle is the symbol of our tri-unity." ("Emblematika smysla", Simvolizm, St. Petersburg 1910, p.87). The notion of the triangle was popular among various groups of Russian intellectuals in the 1900s. The Vesy contributors Zinaida Gippius (sister of two artists at "Modern Trends"), Merezhkovskii and Vyacheslav Ivanov expressed an interest in the mystical properties of the triangle. See J. Bowlt and R. Washton Long (ed.), The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art: A Study of On the Spiritual in Art, Newtonville, 1980, pp. 113-114.

35. K. L'dov. "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery", Birzhevye vedomosti (St. Petersburg), No. 10478. 30 April 1908, pp. 3-4.

36. See Rech' (St. Petersburg), No. 58, 1 March 1909, p. 6.

37. See I.Z., "Lektsiya Privat-Dotsenta N.I. Kul'bina", Vilenskii kur'er (Vilnius), No. 175, 13 January 1910, p. 3.

38. Kul'bin. "Svobodnoe iskusstvo, kak osnova zhizni"; "Svobodnaya Muzyka"; "Svetnaya Muzyka; "Kontsovka". Studiya impressionistov (St. Petersburg) 1910.

39. Kul'bin's course at the Society of Peoples' Universities ran from 15 February to 26 April 1909 (See Nasha gazeta, (St. Petersburg) No. 36. 13 February 1909, p. 5.). The cycle of nine lectures were accompanied by slides, prints, original paintings, musical illustrations and declamations. Practical sessions concerning techniques were included as well as excursions to museums and art-salons (ibid.). The first lecture was entitled "Free Art: As the Basis of Life" and divided into two parts: "I The Idealogy of Art" and "II Artistic Creation". Among those participating were M.A. Rigler-Voronkova, Andrei Alekseevich Borisyak (1885-1962) and his wife, and Lev N. Pyshnov (1891- ?). Rigler-Voronkova made the declamations. It was at her school that Kul'bin had first given his lectures. She also contributed two poems to The Studio of Impressionists. Borisyak studied in the Physics-Mathematics Faculty, St. Petersburg University 1905-1908; and cello at the Petersburg Conservatory 1908-1911. He contributed "The Painting of Music" to The Studio of Impressionists. Pyshnov graduated from Esinova's Piano Class at the Petersburg Conservatory in 1910. In 1913 he began to teach at Tbilisi Music Institute and in 1915 established his own music school in Tbilisi. Kul'bin attributed the co-founding of free music to Pyshnov; he was also supposed to be contributing an article entitled "Colour Music" to The Studio of Impressionists (See Rech' No. 336. 7 December 1909 p. 5), but when the almanac appeared it was Kul'bin who contributed the article with this title. Unfortunately, no other details concerning this lecture cycle exist.

40. Kul'bin's other two articles were "Triangle" (the title was the symbol of a triangle), Salon 2 (exhibition catalogue), Odessa,

1910, p. 19; and "Pervaya vystavka risunkov i avtografov russkikh pisatelei", Impressionisty (exhibition catalogue), St. Petersburg, 1910, unpaginated.

41. A. Rostislavov, "Lektsiya N.I. Kul'bina", Apollon No. 3, December 1909, p. 17.

42. [anon] "Teoriya khudozhestvennogo tvorchestva", Rech', No. 329, 30 November 1909, p. 4.

43. Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo, kak osnova zhizni", pp. 9-12.

44. Ibid.

45. See V. Ivanov, "Dve stikhii v soveremennom simvolizme" Zolotoe runo No. 3-4-5, 1908, pp. 86-94.

46. M. Voloshin, "Individualizm v iskusstve" Zolotoe runo No. 10, 1906, pp. 66-72.

47. Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo, kak osnova zhizni", p. 12.

48. Kandinsky published part of the Neue Kunstlervereinigung's manifesto in Apollon, No. 4, January 1910, p. 30. It argued that art is a combination of the artist's inner experiences and external impressions. The resulting forms, free from inessentials, are a synthesised expression of these two elements. They therefore vary from one artist to the next. On 24 June 1910, sensing common ground, Kandinsky introduced himself to Kul'bin in a letter from Munich (see E.F. Kovtun, "Pis'ma V.V. Kandinskogo k N.I. Kul'binu", Pamyatniki kultury. Novye otkrytiya 1980, Leningrad, 1981, p. 399).

49. Ibid.

50. Stupples, Pavel Kuznetsov, p. 90.

51. V. Yan. "Vystavka".

52. Dubl'-Ve, "Vystavka".

53. Ibid.

54. N. Kravchenko, "Vystavka sovremennykh techenii v iskusstve", Novoe vremya (St. Petersburg) No. 11541, 30 April 1908, p. 5.

55. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

56. K. Petrov-Vodkin, Khlynovsk. Prostranstvo Evklida. Samarkandiya (Leningrad) 1982, p. 640.

57. Kravchenko, "Vystavka".

58. K. L'dov, "Vystavka Sovremennykh techenii v iskusstve", Birzhevye vedomosti (St. Petersburg) No. 10473, 27 April 1908, p. 6

59. Ibid.

60. An example of Kul'bin's work with anatomical illustrations is his doctorate dissertation on alcoholism: Alkogolizm, St. Petersburg 1895. This contains the following note on Kul'bin: "From 1888 has specialized in the study of microscopic drawing, and from 1894 in microphotography" (ibid, p. 175). Other publications included: "Fiziologicheskoe deistvie x-luchei" [The Physiological Action of X-Rays], Trudy IX pirogovskago S'ezda, St. Petersburg, 1904; Chuvstvitel'nost' [Sensitivity], St. Petersburg, 1907.

61. Kul'bin's one-man exhibition, 1 - 31 October 1912. Organised by the Society of the Intimate Theatre, St. Petersburg.

62. Kul'bin. Kharakteristika ego tvorchestva (S. Sudeikin et. al.) St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 39. The earliest works in the booklet date from the summer of 1907 when Kul'bin was in the Crimea.

63. O. L. D'or, "Simvolochnoe iskusstvo (na vystavke kartin Kul'bina)", Den' (St. Petersburg) No. 5, 6 October 1912, p. 5.

64. V. Kamenskii, Put' entuziasta, (Perm) 1968, pp. 84-85.

65. Ibid.

66. There is even evidence that Kul'bin's abstracted geometrical forms (i. e. "The Applications Series", 1913) may have influenced Malevich's Suprematism (see J. Bowlt, "Malevich's Journey into the Non-Objective World" Art News, vol. 72 part 10, December 1973, p. 20).

67. Concerning Blank see below (Footnote 94). Her identification is made on the back of the canvas. If correct, the work may have been Kuokkala (cat. 110) shown at "Modern Trends".

68. Nikolai Konstantinovich Kalmakov (1873-1955). Despite having graduated as a lawyer in 1895 Kalmakov had taken up painting as a career in 1906. He lived in Peterhof near Petersburg and had first exhibited at the Petersburg "Autumn" show (1906 and 1907). After the 1917 Revolution Kalmakov emigrated to France.

69. See Rus' (St. Petersburg), No. 108 20 April 1908, p. 4.

70. Kornei Chukovskii, "Vtoraya osennyaya vystavka v Passazhe", Rech' No. 223, 21 September 1907, p. 2.

71. e. g. Kalmakov's Incense was reproduced in Stolitsa i usad'ba (St. Petersburg) No. 31, 1 April 1915, p. 28.

72. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

73. V. Yan. "Vystavka".

74. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Inv. No. Zh-10380.

75. His use of the exotic was found in the theme of Moloch, (see M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya", above), where sadism is depicted through an image of human sacrifice to the Biblical god of the Ammonites and Phoenicians.

76. There are few biographical details concerning Shmit-Ryzhova. She was married to N. A. Shmit, another Triangle member, and appears to have only shown at Triangle exhibitions. Besides her art work in The Studio of Impressionists, the almanac contains her poem, "Eastern Motif" [Vostochnyi motif] (ibid. p. 27).

77. Kalmakov had exhibited sketches for Salomé at the 1907 "Autumn" exhibition.

78. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

79. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

80. Spandikov was born in Kalvaria, then in Poland, now part of Lithuania. It seems likely that he first met Kul'bin at the Department of Universal Pathology at the Institute of Experimental Medicine where he worked. "Modern Trends" was his first show.

81. M. S. "Sovremenyya napravleniya".

82. Ibid.

83. The four works by Spandikov in the Russian Museum, Leningrad, almost certainly relate to a later period. Spandikov's contribution to the Union of Youth is discussed below.

84. Spring [Vesna] first appeared in Petersburg in the autumn of 1908. Concerning Kamenskii, see Chapter Two.

85. Subsequently the editorship of Spring transferred to Moscow for the final few numbers and Spandikov only reappeared in No. 16 with a pencil sketch of two women entitled Persian Fantasy. Although the issues of the monthly journal are undated, it may be assumed that this late number was published in early 1910.

86. Vesna No. 10.

87. Vesna No. 9, p. 8.

88. Vesna No. 8, p. 13.

89. Zoya Yakovlevna Mostova (also known as Matveeva-Mostova). Born in Perm. Died in Moscow. Worked as a secretary at the Petersburg Ministry Commission of the Committee of Finance 1906-1909. Took a pedagogical course at the Petersburg Academy of Arts, 1907. Travelled in France and Italy in 1910. Subsequently exhibited with the World of Art. Worked as a schoolteacher 1910-1919. Married the sculptor A. T. Matveev in 1914.

90. Yan Frantsevich Tsionglinskii (1858-1912) was a member of the Union of Russian Artists 1903-1910. Professor at the Petersburg Academy of Arts from 1902, and teacher at the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts.

91. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

92. The "Wreath" exhibition, Count Stroganov's House, 23 Nevskii Prospekt, Petersburg, opened 21 March 1908. Organised by Aleksandr Gaush and Sergei Makovskii (see Birzhevye vedomosti, No. 10517, 22 March 1908, p. 4). Exhibitors included Bromirskii, Gaush, Larionov, Pavel Kuznetsov, Matveev, Karev, Naumov, N. Milioti, Sar'yan, Jawlensky, Shitov, Chekhonin, Utkin, Anisfel'd, Feofilaktov, Fon-Vizin. See Meister, "Venok" Rus', No. 84, 25 March 1908, p. 4; Maksimilian Voloshin, "Venok" Rus' No. 88, 29 March 1908, p. 3.

The only "Blue Rose" exhibition had taken place a year earlier (Moscow, 15 March - 29 April 1907). Exhibitors were Arapov, Bromirskii, Krymov, Drittenpreis, P. Kuznetsov, Knabe, V. Milioti, N. Milioti, A. Matveev, Ryabushinskii, Sapunov, Saryan, Sudeikin, Utkin, Feofilaktov and Fon-Vizin. Most of these artists were from Moscow or the Russian south. Nearly all had studied at the Moscow Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. Influences included Borisov-Musatov, Vrubel, Denis and Beardsley. The decorative tendencies of many of the artists combined with a new element of disturbing fantasy.

93. After the closure of the Union of Youth in 1914, Shkol'nik worked as a designer at the Troitskii Theatre. After the 1917 Revolution he became a comissar of the State Free Art Studios in Petrograd and was appointed to the commission for the purchase of work by modern artists. At "Modern Trends" he apparently moved from the Neo-Realists to Triangle. His exhibits (cat. 234-239) were numbered in the catalogue out of sequence with the rest of Triangle, concurring instead with the numbering of the Neo-Realists. This possibly implies that his symbolism was considered, at a late stage, in keeping with Kul'bin's ideas. On the other hand, the artist M. M. Druzhinina appears to have moved from Triangle to the Neo-Realists, with her "fresh and sincerely drawn" (M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya") Female Model (cat. 166), emphasizing that the identity of the groups was not consolidated.

94. Other contributors were Meister, Blank and Nikolaev.

Lidiya Meister contributed to both "Modern Trends" and "The Impressionists" (1909). She had participated in exhibitions of the New Society of Artists from 1906. Her works shown at the New Society's 1908 show (which closed on 17 March) consisted solely of vignettes, but earlier exhibits indicated a predilection for interiors and Petersburg scenes. Her favoured medium was pastel. From the lack of critical comment at "Modern Trends" it is safe to presume Meister's works (e.g. Barn, Sunset, Avenue, Guelder Rose and Petersburg) did not represent a dramatic break with tradition.

Genrietta Karlovna Blank, a pupil of Kul'bin's, was the wife of his brother, Dr. Viktor Ivanovich Kul'bin. An amateur artist, she contributed a very small number of works to all four of his early

exhibitions. One of her paintings, E. P. Kul'bina in Kuokkala (1909, Plate 1.9), shows the clear influence of Kul'bin's impressionism. It depicts Kul'bin's wife resting on a hammock outside the family dacha. The simplification of form, rigid line, bright colour and unconvincing spatial construction give the work a contrived appearance. The broad brushstroke and impasto of the foreground are reminiscent of some of Kul'bin's works and the early landscapes of David Burlyuk.

Aleksandr Nikolaev was also a pupil of Kul'bin's. He also executed a portrait of Kul'bin's wife, exhibiting the work at "Modern Trends" (one of two portraits of Mrs. Kul'bina shown - the other being Lentulov's), along with a sketch and four landscape studies. Double-Ve found the artist worthy of praise: "Imitating Kul'bin's Pointillism, A. A. Nikolaev, has made remarkable success. His female portrait is very sensitively composed and there is much that is good in the landscape motifs." ("Vystavka"). He went on to be a regular contributor to Triangle. Except for his contributions to The Studio of Impressionists, his works are now lost.

Less remarkable contributions to Triangle were made by T. R. Liander, who showed Portrait of Rossovskii, Man of Letters, and N. Ferdinandov with three paper collages (Study, Windmill and Night). Both artists only exhibited with the group on this occasion.

95. V. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka 'Impressionistov'", Rossiya (St. Petersburg) No. 1024, 26 March 1909, p. 3.

96. N. N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim treugol'nikom (Vystavka impressionistov)", Birzhevye vedomosti, No. 11004, 12 March 1909, p. 6.

97. Gippius was the sister of the poetess Zinaida Gippius and friend of Ludmila Burlyuk. She and Ludmila's husband, Vasilii Kuznetsov (a member of the Wreath group) were the only sculptors in the exhibition. Gippius subsequently showed similar sculptures at the "Link" exhibition in Kiev, autumn 1908. She graduated from the Petersburg Academy of Arts in 1912. From 1913 to 1917 she participated in the Spring Exhibitions at the Academy of Arts.

Gippius' other sister Tatyana Nikolaevna Gippius (1877-1957), a student of F. A. Rubo at the Petersburg Academy (1901-1910), also probably contributed to "Modern Trends". The pencilled notes in the catalogue in the Repin Institute (Leningrad) read as follows: "also here are the works of her sister T. Gippius. Both bubble with a passion for merry old ladies. Tatyana has exhibited: 1) Sleepless [?] Old Woman and 2) Mischievous [?] Old Woman". Later she illustrated childrens' books. The Gippius's never exhibited again with Kul'bin's group, nor did they take any part in the Union of Youth, although they did remain significant contributors to the Petersburg art world.

98. Vladimir Alexandrovich Beklemishev (1861-1920). Professor of the sculpture studio at Petersburg Academy of Arts 1894-1918. His pupils included V. V. Kuznetsov, co-organiser of "Modern Trends".

99. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

100. "Tyushki Patyushki" is childish nonsense language.

101. The following groups at "Modern Trends", due to their less significant contribution to the exhibition as a whole, and their exclusion from the trends followed by Triangle and Wreath, need not be considered in the main body of the text. However, in order to attain an overall view of "Modern Trends" an outline of their composition within the framework of the exhibition is given here. The main significance in their appearance at "Modern Trends" appears to have been as symbols of Kul'bin's idea for a Russian salon, a unification (at least as far as exhibition premises was concerned) of the complex of contemporary Russian artists. On the whole, the groups were unevenly represented, the Union, for example, being without major members (e.g. Serov, Sudeikin, Korovin or Dobuzhinskii) and major works.

The Neo-Realists consisted, except for Bogdanov-Belskii and Filkovich, of young, unknown artists, brought together as a group especially for the exhibition. Bogdanov-Belskii's participation was incongruous, especially as he frequently exhibited with members of the "Academic Trends". The critics were baffled by the inclusion in this group of his pastel sketch of a naked female model "with its sickly sweet triteness... and completely incomprehensible illiteracy of draughtsmanship" (M.S. [Simonovich] "Sovremennyya napravleniya"). The character of the Neo-Realists is hard to ascertain. Emme was complimented on his seascapes, N.I. Likhacheva on her "brilliant drawing technique in the portraits and sketches" (V. Yan. "Vystavka"), and Lyubimov on his "lively charcoal drawings" (ibid.). The only originality seems to have been in the work of K.I. Filkovich (1865-1908), who had studied at Petersburg Academy of Arts from 1891 and in Munich under Ažbé from 1898. He returned to Russia in 1905. "Modern Trends" was his last exhibition before his death. He displayed "coloured photographs... modernised with a brightly spotted background" (M.S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya") suggesting a combination of realism and Pointillism, and as such perhaps worthy of the title "Neo-Realist". N.M. Sinyagin subsequently joined Triangle (see Chapter Two).

The Group of Academic Trends (e.g. Buinitskii, Murzanov, Liberg, Blinov), largely consisted of those artists who contributed to the exhibitions of the Petersburg Society of Artists and the Spring exhibitions at the Academy. This big group was apparently dominated by the weak female portraits of M.A. Matveev and, but for one or two works by G.M. Manizer, G.F. Auer and I.A. Murzanov ("distinctive Old Man and dreamy Mermaid caress the eye with their beautiful tones", V. Yan. "Vystavka"), received universal condemnation from the contemporary art critics.

The Architectural Group comprised several established architects, many of whom were exhibiting in an art show for the first time. The works, ranging from sketches for ecclesiastical buildings to project designs for houses, cafés and an exhibition pavilion were contributed by Nikolai and Evgenii Lansere, A.E. Elkin, E.E. von-Baumgarten, A.V. Shchusev, V.A. Shchuko and B.Y. Botkin, among others.

The Union of Russian Artists was meagrely represented at "Modern Trends". Bakst, for example, contributed eight minor sketches and

drawings while Benois gave just one theatrical sketch. The contributors were originally going to call themselves the "Group of the Beautiful Line" (O. B-r. op.cit.) rather than be identified with the Union. The group consisted of four artists (excluding Lansere who appeared in the architectural group) - Bakst, Benois, Bilibin and Ostroumova-Lebedeva. Their exhibits were but "visiting cards", despite Bakst having been on the organising committee of the exhibition and having "pontificated", and Benois having "talked much and mysteriously", about it (Letter of A.P. Botkina to I.S. Ostroukhov, Manuscript department, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, fond 10, ed.khr. 1722, pp.1-2, cited in Sternin, Moscow 1988, pp.223-224). The reasons for such disappointing representation could be many but perhaps especially relevant was the fact that the Union's exhibition in Petersburg had only just, on 30 March, closed and thus many participants would have been quite prepared to wait until the next season, before showing works again.

Petr Kuz'mich Vaulin (b. 1870) alone comprised the majolica 'group' at "Modern Trends". Having worked at Abramtsevo and Mamontov's Butyrskii ceramics factory in Moscow from 1890, Vaulin moved to Kikerino, not far from St. Petersburg, in 1904, in order to open ceramic studios with O. Geldvein. At Butyrskii he instructed Vrubel, Matveev and others (Kuznetsov, Sudeikin and Sapunov spent much time there in 1902). Vaulin was responsible for a revival of ancient Greek, Scythian, Indian and Russian motifs through their use in his decorative art. He was commissioned for the decoration of many buildings throughout Russia (including the Metropol Hotel and Yaroslav Station, Moscow and the Emir of Bukhara's Palace at Zheleznovodsk) and contributed examples of his designs to several shows (e.g. the International Construction-Art exhibition on Kamenny Island, St. Petersburg 1908 where he showed his majolica work with Kuznetsov's designs for a Crimean villa). Just prior to "Modern Trends" Vaulin had taken part in the exhibition of the New Society of Artists (12 February - 17 March), showing a variety of majolica pieces. His work was probably also shown at Kuznetsov's and Utkin's Saratov exhibition, "The Crimson Rose" (27 April- end June 1904) since majolica and sculpture from Butyrskii was included. He continued to participate regularly in Kul'bin's exhibitions and was one of only three artists to show works with both Triangle and the Union of Youth in 1910. At "Modern Trends" he exhibited over twenty works, including caché-pots, vases, metal tiles and a Yaroslav tiled stove.

102. M.S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

103. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Dubl'-Ve, "Vystavka".

107. Kravchenko, "Vystavka".

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Ferdinandov also showed Little Corner and The Dream and The Old Eternal Song in the "Subjective Experiences section and The Rabbit in the "Problems of Objective Reality" section.

111. Concerning Vladimir Burlyuk's psychological approach to art see below. Mikhail Aleksandrovich Shitov was a Petersburg artist. He also contributed to the first "Golden Fleece" salon, and the Union of Youth's exhibition in Riga, 1910 (see Chapter Three).

112. Meister, "Venok", Rus' No. 84, 25 March 1908, p. 4.

113. Ibid.

114. Not fifty, as later claimed by David Burlyuk - see V. Barooshian, Russian Cubo-Futurism, The Hague 1974, p. 68.

115. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

116. Kravchenko, "Vystavka".

117. Dubl'-Ve, "Vystavka".

118. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

119. Ibid.

120. Kravchenko, "Vystavka".

121. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

122. Barooshian, Russian Cubo-Futurism, p. 68.

123. V. Yan. "Vystavka".

124. Dubl'-Ve, "Vystavka".

125. Ibid.

126. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

127. Barooshian, Russian Cubo-Futurism, p. 68.

128. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery". The perception of the blind had, perhaps significantly for Kul'bin's symbolic use of a blind-artist, been studied in Maeterlinck's death dramas L'Intruse (The Intruder) and Les Aveugles (The Blind). Both plays had been translated into Russian and performed (under Stanislavskii's direction) at the Moscow Arts Theatre in 1904.

129. "Wreath-Stefanos", Stroganov Institute, Moscow, 27 December 1907 - 15 January 1908. Exhibitors included the Burlyuks, Larionov, Goncharova, Fon Vizin, Yakulov, Lentulov, Utkin, Baranov, Ulyanov, Knabe, Sapunov, Sudeikin. See P. Muratov, "Vystavka kartin 'Stefanos'", Russkoe slovo (Moscow) No. 3, 4 January 1908, p. 4.

130. See Voloshin, "Venok".

131. See Venok (Exhibition catalogue), St. Petersburg, 1908.

132. S. Makovskii, "Golubaya roza", Zolotoe runo No. 5, 1907, p. 26.

133. N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda Stockholm, 1976, p. 29. His term "Exhibition of Free Groups", clearly refers to "Modern Trends".

134. The Golden Fleece Salon, Moscow 4 April-11 May 1908. Exhibitors included Goncharova, Pavel Kuznetsov, Larionov, Matveev, Knabe, Fon-Vizin, Utkin, Denis, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Vuillard, Signac, Gleizes, Metzinger, Matisse, Le Fauconnier, Rouault.

135. "The Link" [Zvenol, Kiev 2-30 November 1908. Initiated by Burlyuk and Ekster. Exhibitors included Bromirskii, the Burlyuks, Goncharova, Fon-Vizin, Baranov, Gippius, Deters, Larionov, Lentulov, Naumov, Matveev, Ekster. There, David Burlyuk published his declamatory article: "Golos impressionista v zashchitu zhivopisi" [The Voice of an Impressionist in Defence of Painting], see below, Chapter Three.

136. Pavel Muratov, "Vystavka kartin 'Stefanos'", Russkoe slovo No. 3, 4 January 1908, p. 4.

137. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

138. Dubl'-Ve, "Vystavka".

139. Ibid.

140. Kravchenko, "Vystavka".

141. Some of Burlyuk's works were described as "motifs for glass" (M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya" and exhibition catalogue).

142. Burlyuk's first exhibition was probably the 14th Moscow Association of Artists show which opened on 25 March 1907 and at which he displayed just one study. He may have shown at the 7th Exhibition of the Kharkov Society of Artists, Spring 1906, since Ludmila Burlyuk's letter to A. Savrinov, 20 May 1906, notes, concerning the exhibition: "we have been strongly rebuked in the local press." (G. Savinov, A. I. Savinov, Leningrad 1983, p. 125).

143. Pavel Muratov, "XV vystavka kartin Moskovskago tovarishchestva khudozhnikov", Russkoe slovo No. 26, 31 January 1908, p. 4.

144. Muratov, "Vystavka kartin 'Stefanos'".

145. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery". Concerning Burlyuk's aesthetics see the discussion of Nikolai Burlyuk's article "Vladimir Burlyuk", Soyuz molodezhi No. 3, Chapter Seven.

146. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

147. Ibid.

148. Dubl've, "Vystavka".

149. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

150. Metsenat, "Vystavka".

151. Simonovich (M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya") found the treatment of the figures equally unacceptable, although he interpreted them differently: "... we cannot agree with the identification of a person with an Assyrian ornament".

152. Burlyuk's contributions to these exhibitions consisted mostly of studies and landscapes. The critic Shmel' was scandalized by his works at the 1907 Spring exhibition: "David and Ludmila Burlyuk are highly absurd with their profoundly talentless pretentiousness. I simply cannot comprehend what possessed the artists to accept these paintings... Perhaps it was just that the Burlyuks have appeared at the Union show." (Shmel', "Vesennyaya vystavka II" Rus' No. 65, 6 March 1907, p. 3). Simonovich's note on his contribution to the Wanderers show of 1908 is interesting: "Burlyuk's study undoubtedly breaks the record with regard to the curious: a ramshackle building against a background of irregular arabesques, the stylization of which, is supposed, apparently, to represent a garden in full bloom." (M. S., "XXXVI peredvizhnaya vystavka" Rech' No. 63, 14 March 1908, p. 3).

153. Muratov noted "three mediocre studies", "XV vystavka".

154. Dubl'-Ve, "Vystavka".

155. Ibid.

156. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

157. V. Yan. "Vystavka".

158. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya". Burlyuk's interest in the colour theory of Pointillism had begun after his stay in Paris in 1904. Many of his works of this period use Divisionist technique e. g. Landscape with a River (Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-1651).

159. Ibid.

160. Steppe Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-1349. This work is unavailable for reproduction.

161. Les Chaumières (The Cottages) was bought by Morozov in 1908. See La Peinture Française. Seconde moitie du XIXe-debut XXe siècle. Musée de l'Ermitage (Leningrad) 1987, Illustration No. 239.

162. Vasilii Vasil'evich Kuznetsov (1882-1923) was on the committee of "Modern Trends" (works for display were forwarded to him). He showed nine sculptures, created 1906-1907, that received no critical attention and are now unidentifiable. He graduated from the Academy of Arts in 1908, having been taught by Zaleman and Beklemishev. Subsequently, Kuznetsov worked as a ceramicist and created many decorative adornments for Petersburg buildings.

163. David Burlyuk, Colour and Rhyme (New York) No. 31, 1956, Chapter Two.

164. Muratov, "Venok".

165. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

166. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

167. Ibid.

168. Aleksandra Aleksandrovna Ekster (1882-1949) showed just one work at "Modern Trends". The only comment in the press was the following: "In the Wreath group there is only one beautiful work, Switzerland [cat. 101] by Ekster, which is painted like a panel. In it there is much light, air, space and if it were not for some artificiality in the colours, the panel would have been even better." (Kravchenko, "Vystavka"). Painted before her first trip to Paris, this was Ekster's first exhibited work.

169. Lentulov's first exhibition was "Wreath-Stefanos", January 1908. He studied at the Kiev School of Art (1900-1905), moving to Petersburg, where he became acquainted with Kul'bin, in 1907, in order to take the entrance examinations for the Academy of Arts. Following his failure, and brief period of study under Kardovskii, he moved to Moscow, where he was instrumental in organising the first "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in 1910.

170. See G. Pospelow Moderne russische Malerei: Die Kunstlergruppe Karo-Bube, Dresden 1985, p. 169; E. B. Murina, S. G. Ddzhafarova Aristarkh Lentulov, Moscow 1990, p. 17.

171. Muratov, "Vystavka kartin 'Stefanos'".

172. L'dov, "Khudozhniki-revolyutsionery".

173. Ibid.

174. M. S. "Sovremennyya napravleniya".

CHAPTER TWO: THE 1908 - 1909 and 1909 - 1910 SEASONS: KUL'BIN AND THE "TRIANGLE/IMPRESSIONISTS" EXHIBITIONS

The Impressionists-Triangle Exhibition St. Petersburg 8 March - 12 April 1909

In the two years following "Modern Trends" Kul'bin organised three exhibitions for Triangle (two in St. Petersburg and one in Vilnius) which supplemented the selection of those artists he had introduced to the Petersburg public in 1908 with several other young painters.[1] Many of these, such as Baudouin de Courtenay, Grigor'ev, Kozlinskii, Pskovitinov[2] and Guro, went on to make significant contributions to Russian art in the following decade. At least twelve of the artists discovered by Kul'bin were to be involved in founding the Union of Youth. Others joined different groups or remained independent. A few disappeared into obscurity after the final Triangle exhibition closed in April 1910.

Through its four exhibitions of 1908 to 1910, Triangle's position in relation to other artistic groups became more defined. Although the group had a tolerant attitude towards the aesthetic attitudes of its members, some artists felt that there was a general lack of skill and potential for innovation, and they began to leave the group in 1909. It was no coincidence that by mid-1910 the Union of Youth Society of Artists had been officially registered with the City Governor's office and Triangle had ceased to be active.[3]

On 9 March 1909, simultaneous with his course on "Free Art as

the Basis of Life" at the Peoples' University, Kul'bin's second exhibition, "The Impressionists-Triangle", opened in St. Petersburg.[4] The mystical three-coloured triangle was to be seen: "...everywhere - on the signboard, on the catalogues, on the tickets you got when hanging up your coat, on the ceiling of the exhibition premises..."[5] The "furnishing and architectural sections" were described as "the latest word in modernism".[6] In addition, Kul'bin sought to make the link between the arts more tangible for the spectators and provided a musical accompaniment to the paintings.[7] This was intended to be the aural expression of what was expressed visually on the canvases, in order to provide a more holistic experience of art. Indeed, of all Kul'bin's exhibitions, that of 1909 most vividly embodied his concern with the psyche's role in hearing and vision. Later, in his article "Colour Music" (1910), he discussed the inter-relation of colour and sound, concluding that colour could be perceived "from the influence of sounds on the optical apparatus of the eye and brain" and likewise that sounds could be perceived due to the action of colours.[8]

The considerable interest in Russia in the synaesthesia of colour and music, no doubt encouraged, and was encouraged by, the inherent, and sometimes overt, musicality of the symbolists' paintings (Čiurlionis, Kuznetsov, Shitov were all attempting to 'paint' music). Čiurlionis, who was first a composer and then a painter, had moved temporarily to St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1908. Becoming acquainted with Benois, Dobuzhinskii and other "World of Art" artists, he exhibited six works with musical titles

(four 'sonatas' and two 'fugues') at Makovskii's "Salon 1908-1909" in January 1909. In addition, Skryabin and Cherpnin had given recitals and Greek dances had been performed at the Blue Rose exhibition in April 1907, although then critical attention had been drawn "to the lack of any co-ordinating theme between the paintings and the literary and musical recitals, which had the effect of weakening rather than enhancing the potential collective impact."[9] Still, Rimskii-Korsakov's study of his own colour hearing was published in 1908[10] and his ideas linking notes and colours were taken up by Skryabin in 1907. Skryabin planned a *gesamtkunstwerk* and began by developing a colour organ for his "Prometheus" symphony in 1908.[11] His music is patently sensuous and has a languorous, harmonic feeling strongly suggestive of slowly shifting colours and clearly in keeping with the symbolist aesthetic.

Kul'bin sought to establish the association of pyschological vision and psychological hearing as a basis for his colour-music theory:

> Every sensation has a peculiarity, a quality which in psychology is called coloration, qualitative colouring or qualitative tones. Green colour, the note 'fa', a sour taste, the smell of grass etc., are all pecularities which comprise a common area in the psyche i.e. in the world. All these are qualities, the materials from which the subjective aesthetic experience is composed, like a picture is composed of colours.[12]

To be more representative of our experience of the world, Kul'bin called for microtonal music.[13] He contrasted the comparatively weak association between colour and sound in Schumann's work with the strongly associative 'colour' music of Skryabin and Drozdov, and used the compositions of both the latter musicians (e.g.

Skryabin's Opus No.9), to illustrate the musicality of his group's works of art.[14]

With the abandonment of the 'salon' idea, "The Impressionists-Triangle" appears to have been a less ambitious exhibition than "Modern Trends". However, salons continued to be organised. Sergei Makovskii's "Salon 1909" ran from January until March in Petersburg[15], at the same time as the second Golden Fleece salon in Moscow.[16] Kul'bin's 1909 show was timed to open at the height of the Petersburg exhibiting season, when the shows of the New Society of Artists[17], the Union of Russian Artists[18] and even Wreath-Stefanos[19] were on and, hence, when Triangle could be compared with other art groups.

"Modern Trends" had contained over four hundred exhibits, but the Triangle section had comprised only a quarter of this, with works by fifteen artists. "The Impressionists" of 1909, with more than two hundred works by a total of thirty-six artists[20], can therefore be considered a substantial expansion from the previous year. The fluid quality of the affiliations among the Russian avant-garde at the time is underlined by the composition of Triangle. Just ten artists from the previous year remained, though these were joined by Nechaev and Vaulin who had appeared independently at "Modern Trends". Of the twenty-two new exhibitors, at least seventeen (including Mikhail Matyushin, Elena Guro, Boris Grigor'ev and Tsavelli Shleifer) showed for the first time. This indicates Kul'bin's ability to find new talents as well as his willingness to promote these untried elements in the face of

a prevailing artistic conservatism.

It could be argued that Kul'bin lacked discrimination in his choice of artists, or, alternatively, that he was one of the most innovatory and visionary exhibition organisers in Russia.[21] Several Triangle artists were Kul'bin's pupils, others were total beginners and some were already well established. Still others, art students and graduates, were probably persuaded to exhibit more by Kul'bin's enthusiasm and the unexpected chance to show their work to the public, than by his ideas. However, despite press notices only days before the opening[22] which included them among the exhibitors, the Burlyuks and Wreath did not participate at "The Impressionists. Instead, a "Wreath-Stefanos" exhibition opened in Petersburg just over a week later on 18 March.

Continuing the tendencies seen in Triangle in 1908, the group retained a predilliction for realistic and idealistic symbolism. Kul'bin himself gained the press's attention for his radical ideas as well as for his paintings:

> Kul'bin is paradoxical. The leader of the Petersburg Impressionists says:
> "It is unnecessary to depict real objects; it is unnecessary to depict real arms, heads, legs. Give hints. And the spectator, from a distance, supplements that which is unshown by the artist, with his imagination...
> Here is my study of a Female Model. Where is the head? There is none. Is this really an arm?... But try moving back."
> And indeed from close to this is some kind of random hodge-podge of brushstrokes but if you "try" to move back there is the impression of a relaxing model.[23]

Although surviving works rarely demonstrate this 'impressionist' theory, they do indicate a continuation of

Kul'bin's interest in colour seen at "Modern Trends". At "The Impressionists" he showed fifteen works including The Crimea, Burnt Forest, Melody, Church Motif, The Sea, Lilac and seven studies. Metsanat observed: "... this artist is talented, and that he can successfully paint "like everyone" paints is proved by his study of boats, which is painted in a pure, realistic manner and very strongly."[24] Clearly still basing his work in the observation of 'psycho-physical' nature, Kul'bin ignored idealistic symbolism. Breshko-Breshkovskii came closest to explaining other, apparently objectless, canvases:

> ... in every inch of the canvas you see the thinker, searching for some new expression by means of colour. One study, for example, constitutes a simple combination of colours. There is no need to look in the catalogue because the last thing the artist sought to represent is some object. He has given himself exclusively coloristic concerns and the form has not even entered into his head.[25]

The study described here appears to have much in common with Sea View[26], which, through its sense of horizontal layering, recalling geological strata, appears to be a composition of almost abstract colour rhythms. The sea is now a flat vertical block of gently flowing yellows and blues. Only the browns at the bottom of the canvas and the yellow clouds at the top indicate the artist's representational concerns with land and sky. Yet, despite the flatness, an illusion of vast space is also present, not dissimilar to that seen in Čiurlionis' painterly 'sonatas' of 1908-9.[27] This then is Kul'bin's painting of the poetical experience of nature.

The Crimea (cat. 76?, Plate 2.2), which appears very similar to a work seen in the group exhibition photograph (Plate 2.1), is an effective study of colour and light. Less radical than Sea

View, it relates closely to The Coast at Kuokkala (Plate 1.6), although it is a more accomplished painting. Spatial recession is again described by a curving line, this time of conifers. The high viewpoint enables the artist to almost fill the entire canvas with the mountains, constructed from a medley of small and densely worked, assymetrical, blue and red blocks of colour. At the top, soft greens and tans in a broad diagonal brushstroke indicate the sky. In the middle distance a twin-towered church stands on an outgrowth of rock, while in the foreground flat-roofed houses and a crouched figure with two large bowls are visible. More small, white buildings follow the line of the coast in the centre of the work. These representational elements are incidental. Here Kul'bin's study of nature concentrates on the momentary impressions of light and colour.

The influence of Kul'bin's ideas on many of the exhibitors at "The Impressionists" is apparent, as if the artists were adhering to his call for art to synthesise the stimulating impressions of nature with inner response. Indeed, one of the main concerns of artists of both the idealistic and realistic symbolist tendencies, appears to have been the depiction of Kul'bin's conception of colour-music.

Aleksandr Dunichev-Andreev seems to have belonged to the idealistic symbolists of the group. His fairy-tale sketches represented: "... a quite tender, dreamy fantasy. Fenist the Glamorous Falcon [cat.63] and the rays of the sun flying to the Dead Tsarevna [cat.65], speak of the artist's beautiful reveries, which he has managed to transfer to the canvas in graceful lines

and lovely colours."[28]

Dunichev-Andreev's exhibits in the next two Triangle shows included similar themes, although a broadening of subject matter is also evident (titles included The Apple Tree, In the Rye and Spring). Panel. The Tale of the Swan (Plate 2.16a), shown in 1910, depicted a girl-swan figure rising above the water. This work was described by Breshko-Breshkovskii as "one of the best works of the exhibition" and successful in its "coloristic quest".[29] While little of value can be discerned from the surviving reproduction it is clear that the panel had decadent and semi-erotic overtones. Dunichev-Andreev repeated the theme of a swan-princess, though with a contrasting emphasis on harmonic linearity and absence of colour, in The Studio of Impressionists (Plate 2.3). Here, as in his other illustrations to the almanac, the lines are laconic and the forms of the wispy branches that enter the picture from beyond its frame, delicate. This, together with his depiction of solitary, dreamy female figures, recalls Borisov-Musatov.

In 1909 Shmit-Ryzhova contributed eighteen paintings with a variety of symbolist themes: e.g. Sulamyth, The Song of the Indian Guest (from 'Sadko'), Morning Reveries, Eternally Young and Sketch on the Motif of Grieg's "Swan". Breshko-Breshkovskii described them:

> Ludmila Shmit-Ryzhova is inspired by transparent, dream-like, reveries of ancient Egypt, Sulamyth, the Indian guest. And this is expressed by her with a charming and effective absurdity that occurs only in dreams. Couples that have been naively drawn sit with their naivety in a green meadow, on a carpet floating on water, as if they have fled from ancient Egyptian and Assyrian sarcophagi.
>
> In order to really feel all the ingenuous naivety of the flat figures and primitively stretched and elongated profiles with narrow eyes like almonds - for such a reincarnation, a

> flash of brilliance is necessary. And this glimmers in the artist. Who knows perhaps the little flash will flare up into something clearer and more significant.
>
> Shmit-Ryzhova's other drawings tell of her competence, which, in her stylised reveries about sultry Egypt she has deliberately ignored.[30]

The use of antique sculptural forms[31] for symbolist effect implies an unusual combination of idealized subject matter, though without the obvious desire to shock and deliberate adulteration of convention that was to be soon to be apparent in the primitivist work of Larionov, for example.

The two-dimensionality of the monumental figures in the works outlined by Breshko-Breshkovskii, contrasts with the disintegration of form into vague outlines and generalized areas of local colour elsewhere in Shmit-Ryzhova's exhibits. The painting on the far left of Plate 2.1 could be Shmit-Ryzhova's The Song of the Indian Guest (cat.174). The figure of the half-naked young woman surrounded by the decorative patterning of the carpet and wall, together with a swirling transparent veil, are clear enough for the scene to be recognisable. Kul'bin recommended the painting of Rimskii-Korsakov's "Song of the Indian Guest" as a manifestation of true colour music: "'He who hears this song, forgets everything', and the bird covers the blue sea with its wings, and brightly coloured precious stones are dreamed up. This is real colour music."[32]

The critics agreed that Kalmakov was one of the most talented artists of Triangle.[33] His decorative symbolist work was beginning to gain him a reputation as an artist of some originality.[34] His contributions to "The Impressionists" were limited to two titled

works (both with musical associations), Prelude and The Musician; a series of costume and set designs for Leonid Andreev's Black Masks (staged at the Kommissarzhevskii Theatre earlier in the season); and, ex-catalogue, a sketch for the backdrop of an unrealised production of Salomé. Breshko-Breshkovskii supplied a vivid description of the latter:

> A nightmarish monster, begotten of disturbed, feverish dreams, turns black, like a titanic deity, like an obelisk it towers up among blood-stained wreathes... while below, with a myriad of sharp clawed paws the monster tramples on a whole hetacomb of human skulls. They are pierced and penetrated to the brain by the talons.
>
> And the convulsively twisted masks of the skulls are distorted by some excruciating and crazy, voluptuous ecstasy.
>
> Kalmakov improves by leaps and bounds. Idea and depth he always had. But he has made great successes in technique. His drawing has become more confident and more psychological. A sense of risk has begun to resound - without which it is impossible to express what goes beyond the bounds of plastic problems in both tone and colour.
>
> Yesterday's dilletante must now be taken very seriously.[35]

Clearly, the grotesque and exotic elements of Andreev's and Wilde's plays were sympathetic to Kalmakov's morbid imagination. Indeed, despite the "psychological" aspect of his work, Kalmakov never again exhibited with Triangle, preferring to concentrate on his theatrical work. Within two years, in keeping with his formal debt to Bakst and Somov, he was to begin an association with the World of Art which lasted until 1917.

N.M. Sinyagin's[36] work was briefly described by Yanchevetskii: "N. Sinyagin is very interesting: in his Tambourine [cat. 133a], where he seeks to express the impression of the rhythmical sounds, and in his Cyclops [cat. 133b] - where the large eye, sombrely looks around in the midst of a stylised Japanese (after Hokusai) background."[37] Such distortions and sense of the poetic bring to

mind Čiurlionis and again bear witness to Triangle's concern with abstract and symbolic psychological effect. Certainly, the painterly rendition of musical form reiterates Kul'bin's study of synaesthesia.

Sinyagin continued to exhibit with Triangle at both Vilnius and Petersburg, showing The Singer has Fallen Silent, The Count has been Completed, Haunting Thought, Morning Prayer and The Optimistic Woman - indicative of a prevailing Maeterlinckian desire to depict contemplative, rather than active, moments. Unfortunately, the sole critical comment on the artist's work refers only to The Singer has Fallen Silent, noting that the formal means little reflect the broken sound and fail to express the necessary mood.[38]

According to Metsenat, M.E. Verner was a talented student with potential, who had only started painting the previous autumn.[39] He noted his obvious debt in both style and theme to Borisov-Musatov.[40] The titles of the artist's work reflect the influence: In the Park, Evening, Columns, Mascarade, Phantom, Tale of Spring. In a sketch shown the following year (Plate 2.16a) the dreamy mood, thin painting and transparent quality of the girl's dress, recalls Musatov's depiction of Nadezhda Stanyukovich in Requiem (1905, Plate 2.4). The generalized foliage in the background are also reminiscent of Musatov. Although Verner does not convey the tragedy of Musatov's work, a feeling of melancholy is evoked by the listless, inclined form of the young lady and her vaguely defined surroundings.

An artist who was to play a significant role in defining the character of both Triangle and the Union of Youth, and who

exhibited with Kul'bin for the first time in the spring of 1909, was Sophia Ivanovna Baudouin de Courtenay.[41] "The Impressionists" was her first exhibition and she contributed three works: Sketch to Mirbeau, Night and In the Copse. She may have studied with Kul'bin since, according to Breshko-Breshkovskii, he taught his students to represent impressions of sound by using concentric spirals - a technique described by the critic as "successful" in Baudouin de Courtenay's case[42]:

> The young artist Baudouin de Courtenay illustrates one of the most terrifying moments from Octave Mirbeau's Garden of Tortures (the whole of this novel is unbroken terror).
>
> The one doomed to perish is tortured and made to suffer under the continuous ringing of a large bell. The ring, torments and shakes the nervous system, driving one mad...
>
> And when you look at the blood-brick red gamut of colour and guess that among this orgy of malicious pigments is the impression of a bell, then you begin to believe in Miss Baudouin de Courtenay. Indeed, from these shaking and vibrating sounds, which so murderously fill the air, it is possible to go mad, to turn into an idiot for the rest of your life, to be shaken to death...[43]

This interpretation of Mirbeau[44], together with the titles of the other works, suggests that Baudouin de Courtenay was attracted to Kul'bin's symbolist impressionism. Here, she has synthesised a grotesque, aural motif with an apparently polyphonic play of colour. Breshko-Breshkovskii implies that the result is representative of the synaesthetic ideas promulgated by Kul'bin. Yet colour is given an expressive, emotional force that is far more psychologically intense than Kul'bin, and seems to cross the boundary between being visualizations of sound waves and externalizations of *angst*, as in Munch's The Scream (1893).[45] However, over the next two years Baudouin de Courtenay experimented with diverse themes and styles. At the subsequent

Triangle exhibition in Vilnius, she exhibited Palm Tree, which was described as "a fine example... [of] neo-classicism, the latest fashion in painting"[46], while work shown with the Union of Youth was Neo-Primitivist.

Another young artist, Aleksandr A. Nikolaev, apparently living with Kul'bin at this time and certainly a pupil of his[47], exhibited three works: Balalaika Player, Green Girl (from Kalmuck mythology) and a sketch. Having copied Kul'bin's Pointillism the previous year[48], in 1909 Nikolaev was influenced by Kul'bin's desire to represent sound. He attempted to evoke a musical atmosphere through the use of colour in his The Balalaika Player (cat. 127):

> In the figures of the three balalaika players and in the undulating lines, which act as a background, you truly feel some unheard musical gamut.[49];
> ... the artist imagines the sounds of the balalaika... filling the surrounding air - in the form of greenish, slightly vibrating waves. The attempt is very bold but the absence of technical qualities does much harm to the general impression.[50]

Lacking Baudouin de Courtenay's *angst* in his subject matter, Nikolaev avoids the expressive excesses of her work. He continued the study of synaesthesia in 1910, showing Music at the last Triangle exhibition.[51]

If the The Balalaika Player embodied Kul'bin's teachings with regard to the correlation of sound and colour, The Green Girl (cat. 129) also seems to bear a resemblance to Kul'bin's work, in particular his Siren shown at "Modern Trends". Both use ancient mythology symbolically, in Kul'bin's case Homeric Greek and in Nikolaev's that of the Kalmuck[52], as part of the new search in Russia for original forms of expression through a transference of

iconographies from other cultures.

An interest in symbolism and the representation of sound were also apparent in the work of Boris Dmitrievich Grigor'ev (1886 - 1939)[53], a student at the Petersburg Academy. He exhibited ten works, including Forest Shadows, Nightmare, Saturday Peal, and In a Strange Forest, in this, his first show. Now untraceable, the titles imply that he, like many other exhibitors, was experimenting with psychological subject matter. Yanchevetskii, while impressed by Grigor'ev's "perspicuity and artistic zeal", found him, as Breshko-Breshkovskii was to find Mitel'man, to be "threatened by the sad consequences of his imitations of K. Somov".[54] This suggests a rather contrived, decorative attempt to escape to a retrospective fantasy that combined the trivial with the sensual, and the beautiful with the grotesque.

The Bessarabian artist Avgust Ivanovich Baller (1879 - 1962)[55] and his wife Lidiya Arionesko-Baller[56] took part in all three of Kul'bin's 1909 and 1910 exhibitions and went on to participate with the Union of Youth. Baller also contributed articles to Kul'bin's The Studio of Impressionists and the Union of Youth.[57] He had begun exhibiting in Petersburg in 1903.[58] His early work seems to have been a mixture of the grotesque and the lyrical - two aspects which were reflected in the works shown at "The Impressionists", as well as in the earlier "Autumn" exhibition of September 1907.

At the "Autumn" exhibition, Baller showed several Petersburg 'nocturnes' and interiors that recalled the uneffusive style of Benois.[59] With these he exhibited three curious works (The Halo, Furioso and Astronomer), the first two of which were from a series

he called 'The Macabre Cycle'. They had an overtly allegorical content, quite possibly derived from the Dutch and Belgian symbolists, such as Ensor, Toorop and Delville, whose works Baller would have seen during his years in Holland. Furioso, with its musical connotations, was depicted by a skeleton running across a field with a gun on its back, and The Halo had little underwater air-bubbles in the form of a halo above a skull. At "The Impressionists" this dual tendency of the macabre and the poetic, recalling the thematic dichotomy seen in the Blue Rose, and particularly Kuznetsov's, work of 1907-1908, was embodied in three pastel 'nocturnes' of Holland, and in the "drawing of disfigurement"[60] (again suggestive of Ensor) expressed in Indian Puppet Theatre.

Symbolist inclinations are also apparent in the work of Leonid Yakovlevich Mitel'man.[61] He, together with Evgenii Yakovlevich Sagadaichnyi and Savelii Yakovlevich Shleifer[62], who also exhibited with Triangle for the first and last time at "The Impressionists", went on to make a significant contribution to the Union of Youth. All three were students at the Petersburg Academy of Arts. Mitel'man showed fourteen works, including three with musical references, Spring Melody, Violin, Adagio, and three which caught different moments of evening, Towards Evening, Evening and Late Evening. These were reviewed by Breshko-Breshkovskii: "Mitel'man is a rather refined draughtsman. His little works are interesting, although he has yet to break free from imitating Somov. In the affected delicacy of the firmly marked lines there is something Somov-like, that is sickly-refined and at times exotic."[63]

It is interesting to compare this account with that given by Varvara Bubnova.[64] Bubnova and Mitel'man had studied under the landscapist Dubovskoi[65] at the Academy and in the autumn of 1910 the two students shared a studio. Bubnova remembered her colleague as a gifted artist who had an original method of composing a painting: "... he drew random spots on little pieces of cardboard and from these his imagination then either extracted or inserted grandiose landscapes in miniature."[66] This method could account for the exaggeratedly precious quality of the works noted by Breshko-Breshkovskii as well as the need for bold outlines. Such an approach to subject matter and form, with its emphasis on fantasy, was in keeping with the experimental-psychological (i.e. subjective) approach to art apparent at Kul'bin's exhibitions.

Other artists concerned with the Union of Youth who showed for the last time with Kul'bin at "The Impressionists" were Mostova, Spandikov, Bystrenin and Shkol'nik. Bystrenin covered the stove that heated the exhibition premises with his drawings[67]; Mostova showed six works including Sketches of Simeiz, The Olive Grove and The Alder Tree; and Spandikov showed twenty-two works under the collective title M and Zh, presumably standing for "Muzhchina" (man) and "Zhenshchina" (woman). Of the four, only Shkol'nik's titles hint at Triangle's *fin de siècle* interest in mood and rhythm. He contributed fifteen paintings including: Melody of Spring, From Memory, Anguish, Silence and several that related, like Mitel'man's work, to the passing of evening into night. None of these artists' works were mentioned by the critics and none are known to have survived.[68]

The only artist to appear at both the "The Impressionists" and the "Wreath-Stefanos" Spring exhibitions was Leonid Davidovich Baranov (later Baranov-Rossiné, 1888 - 1942)[69], who had studied at the Academy of Arts from 1903 to 1907.[70] Given that much of his early work is lost, V. Yanchevetskii's outline of his contribution to "The Impressionists", which included Autumn Lament, Decembrists' Books and eleven landscape studies, is highly valuable:

> L. Baranov, an interesting landscapist, belongs to the neo-realist group. Neither image nor fantasy function in him. He approaches the interpretation of landscape, sunsets, simple views such as barges on rivers, groups of trees etc. with originality. He paints with big, crude brushstrokes as if composing a mosaic from patches of colour. From close-to nothing can be understood, but from a few steps back the painting makes a rather pleasant combination of harmonic half-tints. Since L. Baranov is still a young artist with undeniable talent, it is possible to forgive him his excesses, his extreme coarseness; it is clear that he wishes to remain individual without being confined, as could easily be the case, to imitating the contemporary schools.[71]

This description aligns Baranov with Triangle's and Wreath's tendency of realistic symbolism that used Post-Impressionist technique. In fact, Baranov's style was called Pointillist when he exhibited at "The Impressionists" exhibition in Vilnius later in the year:

> In his two paintings called Sun [cat. 9-10] Baranov has created wonderful examples of the latest impressionism - Pointillism. He has attained the representation of the ether, the eternal movement of the air, by a special technique of spots and strokes.[72]

This commentary, which went on to liken Baranov's style to Kul'bin's, is wholly consistent with Sunrise (1908, Plate 2.5), possibly one of the works shown in Vilnius. Both artists employed a Pointillist technique whereby all aspects of physical nature (including the air and the earth) are united through their

fragmentation into small coloured spots. Neither conveyed a sense of mysticism, only a decorative lyricism that relied essentially on their subjective impressions of nature. However, Baranov's collaboration with Kul'bin ceased after Vilnius, he took no part in the formation of the Union of Youth and suddenly left Petersburg for Paris in 1910.

Mikhail Vasil'evich Matyushin (1861-1934) and Elena Genrikovna Guro (1877-1913), founder members of the Union of Youth, displayed a concern with psychological impressionism, that aligned them with their fellow contributors to "The Impressionists". After training at the School for the Encouragement of the Arts under Tsionglinskii, both artists studied with Bakst and Dobuzhinskii at the Zvantseva Art School. Though strains in their relationship with Kul'bin and Triangle were soon to precipitate a split in the group, their contributions to the 1909 show, give no sign of any ideological differences.

Guro showed five drawings from her book Hurdy-Gurdy [Sharmanka] (St. Petersburg, 1909, Plate 2.6). This was her first book and it contained a series of small prose pieces, poems and plays accompanied by some little illustrations. The stream-of-consciousness literary style, was matched by the drawings in which a child-like, deliberately naive, quality was also apparent. Little stars, tiny leaves, trees and circles among the text; or there were larger lanterns and curtains; a thin part of a façade with a window, a drainpipe, an arched door and the cobbles of the street; pine trees (a recurring motif); stairs; simple plants; and a bucket. Guro concentrated on the small, often unnoticed objects

in life. She discarded one point perspective, modelling, conventional viewpoints and subject matter and sought to capture the fleeting moment.

Matyushin, who exhibited three studies of the southern Caucasian Coast[73], was influenced by a similar attitude towards subject matter. Central to his approach was an expanded awareness of man's relation with nature. Matyushin's ideas may have been stimulated by Kul'bin's theories concerning perception, although there is no concrete evidence to support this. In any case, his musical training and his painterly experiments led to panpsychism. In 1912 he was to argue that through observing physical reality the artists experienced a higher order of reality, generally equated with new spatial dimensions and the supernatural:

> ... the branches of trees are like bronchial tubes - the basic element of respiration... The sacred earth breathes through them, the earth breathes through the sky. The result is a complete circle of earthly and celestial metabolism. They are the signs of an ulterior life.[74]

He considered that man was physiologically capable of expanding his vision in order to attain this new perception.[75] By focusing his attention on the organic, universal rhythms of nature, through both intuitive and conscious study, such an expanded vision could be attained.

This notion, expressed in different ways by both Matyushin and Kul'bin, appears to stem from the latter's world of medical psychology and its recent impact on art. Since the late 1870s, the psychologist Jean-Martin Charcot's study of neurological systems had given the French *Art Nouveau* movement a basis for its organic creations.[77] He defined the human being as suspended between

stimulus and response: the external world, like that of Matyushin and Kul'bin, acted directly on the internal world of the nerves. Kul'bin described the process: "The artist, studying nature, arouses within himself a flair for intuition. Penetrating into the ideas of his great teacher, he acquires the ability to create something unprecedented yet beautiful... Form is seen as a kind of energy".[76]

The correspondence of Kul'bin's and Charcot's ideas may have been coincidental, but it is, nonetheless, striking and tells of a similar cultural ambience. Similarly, a debt to the Goncourt brothers may be posited, since they regarded the neurasthenic state reached by continual mental effort unrelieved by physical action as "the ground of existence for the modern artist."[77] They considered overdeveloping the nervous sensibilities to be the means by which the clinical analysis of impressions and sensations could be invested with artistic form. Only then could truth about the self and the nature of reality be revealed: "I have come to the... conclusion that observation, instead of blunting my sensibilities, has extended them, developed them; left me laid bare."[78] It is tempting to suggest that the frenetic activity of both Matyushin and Kul'bin at this time, their prodigious creative output and extreme irritability and sensitivity, were the results of just such a state of neurasthenia.

Kul'bin allowed the artist to depict freely whatever he chose in order to create a picture without any fixed interpretation. Matyushin, on the other hand, like Guro, concentrated more on the representation of carefully selected, unexceptional, objects in the

local environment. Matyushin, however, was far more restricted in his selection, concentrating almost exclusively on landscape and portraiture.[79]

In his surviving pre-1910 work, consisting of several landscape studies[80] based on "expanded colour impressionism"[81], Matyushin appears to concentrate on evoking nature through colour. The Pink House (Plate 2.4) depicts the verandah of a large country house. Broad areas of colour created by thick brushstrokes define the undelineated form. Detail is omitted as Matyushin concentrates on the effects of light. As a result the canvas appears little more than a preparatory study for a larger work.

Landscape (1908, Plate 2.5), with its dematerialised, flowing forms, is more easily related to Matyushin's sense of organic movement in nature. A combination of curving vertical and horizontal brushstrokes describe the form. The lighter shades of the earth are a horizontal flow of colour that give the picture its abstract musicality. The composition is fairly flat: only the interaction of dark and light tones and the bright branches of the bush in the centre give a sense of foreground and background. The object is dissolved in the play of colours which becomes, essentially, a depiction of natural movement and growth. There is an echo of Kul'bin's ideas, and indeed pictorial solutions, concerning the unity of matter. Yet Matyushin has concentrated on the representation of a particular visual and spatial perception, while Kul'bin introduced a greater degree of symbolism into his work. In this Kul'bin is probably closer to Guro, for she could also divorce her art from nature, while concentrating on the

intimate relationship between the consciousness of the artist and the object depicted.

Another of Tsionglinskii's pupils, his nephew A. A. Rubtsov, exhibited two tempera works, Interior and Apple Tree in the Forest, and a Study of a White Night. Interior (cat. 132a), which was praised by Metsanat[82], was compared with some of Levitan's works for its dominance of the background over the foreground - directing the viewer's attention beyond the surface plane to the rear. Although no visual documentation survives, it may be assumed that Rubtsov was essentially concerned with a lyrical, impressionistic interpretation of nature.

Other artists who made a minor contribution to "The Impressionists" but who played significant roles in the development of the Russian avant-garde, included Aleksei Eliseevich Kruchenykh (1886-1968)[83] and Vasilii Vasil'evich Kamenskii (1884-1961).[84] Both went on to establish themselves as leading Futurist poets, Kruchenykh writing the zaum opera, The Victory over the Sun, which was presented by the Union of Youth in 1913. Their participation in the exhibition was important not for the works that they showed but as an opportunity to acquaint themselves with this new and rapidly evolving artistic environment. Both remained in contact with Kul'bin after the Union of Youth split from Triangle. Kruchenykh, a trained artist, contributed one work, Summer. Kamenskii, who had only recently taken up painting after meeting Kul'bin and the Burlyuks, exhibited "the Pointillist Little Birches."[85] Although this cannot be traced, a reproduction of a slightly later work Perm Forest (Plate 2.6) survives.[86] This

depicts a tree-lined avenue with a young lady bending to pick a flower in the foreground. The untrained hand of Kamenskii is evident in the unconvincing foliage and stoop of the figure, although the generalization of forms is consistent with the intention to create an idealized symbolist mood.

It is finally worth mentioning the exceptional contributions of Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Gorodetskii[87], whose participation at "The Impressionists" was not recorded in the catalogue, but is confirmed by a newspaper note.[88] Thus it can be safely assumed it was here, as Pyast later suggested, that his bits of painted cotton wool were first shown:

> ... here at the Triangle exhibition, or possibly Wreath, appeared the first earmarking for the public at large of the fine art 'opus' of A. Gorodetskii: it is not possible to be more precise about the place. The first work bore the title Stain. The second Foetus. And the third and final work Stain-Foetus. All these works were made out of cotton wool which was then in fashion for filling the gaps of our northern windows between the months of September and May. However, in the windows they were only white while A. Gorodetskii painted them.[89]

Gorodetskii, brother of the poet Sergei Gorodetskii, continued showing his highly original works in the remaining two Triangle exhibitions. In Vilnius, he showed a work entitled Mould[90] and at the 1910 "Impressionists" he contributed a series of wreathes (White, Faded, Funeral and Lilac), apparently made out of cambric and designed as screens to be put in front of lights[91], as well as Blue Basket and The Swan. It is impossible to suggest their form, though their unexpected media and unusual titles imply a novel approach to subject matter, in keeping with Kul'bin's call for experiment.[92]

"The Impressionists-Triangle" Vilnius Exhibition 26 December 1909 - 20 January 1910

"The Impressionists" 1909 exhibition in St. Petersburg closed on 12 April. It is doubtful whether the agreement with "representatives of the Russian colony in Rome, Princes Volkonskii and Baryatinskii"[93] to send the exhibition to the Italian capital "after its month in Petersburg... for Italians to become acquainted with the representatives of Russian impressionism"[94] bore fruit. Nevertheless, an exhibition of the group, and one marking new changes in its identity, opened on 26 December 1909 in Vilnius.[95]

The alterations that occurred to Triangle during 1909 are significant because the composition and art of the group changed and the Union of Youth was formed. Developments were noticeable at Vilnius, which, while containing some works that had already been seen in Petersburg, was essentially an exhibition of new work. Of the twenty-three artists who exhibited, six had never before participated with Triangle (Evseev, Shmit, Rybakov, Kozlinskii, Krukovskaya and Vashchenko). More remarkable, however, was the absence of artists like Guro, Matyushin, Bystrenin, Shkol'nik, Shleifer, Spandikov, Mitel'man, Sagaidachnyi and Mostova. All of these were concerned with the early development of the Union of Youth.[96] Other artists, such as Baudouin de Courtenay, the Ballers, the Burlyuks and Evseev, who were also shortly to participate with the Union of Youth, showed at Vilnius.

A movement away from Kul'bin was becoming apparent. The catalyst for this may well have been a feeling that the symbolist tendency of the group was essentially limited. Despite the overlap

of styles and ideas revealed at the last Triangle show and the first Union of Youth show in March 1910, the latter seemed to have a new energy, able to take it in new directions. Both enterprises turned out to be short-lived, but this should not be regarded as a symptom of failure. On the contrary, the short life of both groups indicates the fervent pursuit of invention in Petersburg art in the late 1900s and early 1910s.

The exhibition, organised at the invitation of the local Vilnius Art Society, ran almost a month - until 20 January 1910. To complement it, Kul'bin gave three lectures in Vilnius during January 1910.[97] Reviews of these provide further evidence of his psycho-symbolist approach and, given the lack of surviving visual material from the exhibition, are valuable in establishing a basis for his artistic ideas.

The titles (and content) of the first two lectures were similar: "New Paths in Art: literature, music and the plastic arts" and "Impressionism (literature, the plastic arts and music)". As noted previously Kul'bin's talks were almost works of performance art. Both of these lectures were accompanied by visual and musical illustrations. The music illustrating the first talk included Grieg's "Procession of the Gnomes", the prelude and nocturne to Skryabin's Opus No.9[98], a Bach aria, an aria from Grétry's opera "Richard the Lionheart" and "Lilac" by Rachmaninov. Slides and photographs of works by Böcklin, von Stück and Wyspiański[99], as well as of classical buildings, were shown. Certain declamations were pronounced. Paintings by the Burlyuks and others, showing the new freeing of colour from form were also displayed on the walls:

"violet cows, a chocolate view, iridescent trees growing with roots upwards... orange horses" (cf. Plates 2.10 and 2.11).[100]

The following programme for Kul'bin's first lecture, on 9 January 1910, was published:

> 1. The Idealogy of Art
> The symbol of the world. Symbolism in art. Beauty and good. Love. Attraction. Enjoyment. The process of beauty. Art is happiness. Art is the search for God. Discovery. Myths and symbols. Prometheus. Bringing Galatea to life. A united art - literature, music and the plastic arts. The content of art. Essence, subject and anecdote.
>
> 2. The Theory of Artistic Creation
> The Artist: Consciousness. Feeling. Will. Sensation. Personality. Infant. The artist. "Talent". Search. Creative imagination. Realization.
>
> The Painting: Harmony and dissonance. Rhythm. Style.
> Blue colour. Idea in word, sound and colour. Drawing is melody.
> Red colour. The sounds of colour. The colours of words. The colours of sound. Scales. Ornament.
> Yellow colour. Plastic arts. Free creation. Illusion and form.
> Psychology of invention.
>
> The Spectator: The theory of cognition. Vision and blindness. Critics.[101]

Though this programme has much in common with Kul'bin's article "Free Art as the Basis of Life" [Svobodnoe iskusstvo, kak osnova zhizni] published two months later[102], and his ideas of synaesthesia, it is impossible to say how far he adhered to it. One review of the first lecture indicates that he concentrated on the psychological basis of art and claimed that art is to express the intimate experiences of the artist spontaneously, without preconception, stylisation or deliberation.[103]

Kul'bin's psycho-physiological approach was certainly evident in the second lecture, where he attacked traditional distinctions

of the arts and called for a unified art in which music joined with the plastic arts, the plastic arts with literature, and literature with music. He felt that a common creative spirit united the arts and the essence of this should be conveyed in the artwork. He reiterated his fundamental tenet: "The world - this is our sensations". The artist, with his peculiar sensibility, was to express his perception of nature and provoke a definite sensation in the viewer. For this purpose dissonance, as well as harmony, could be employed - he used Skryabin's music to demonstrate that the listener associates certain disharmonic sounds with previously experienced impressions.

Although Kul'bin appears not to have elaborated how the integrity of the psychical world can be faithfully represented in a united art, he grounded his theory in a mechanistic worldview. He asserted, as in "Colour Music", that sensations of light are provoked by aural phenomena - in other words, sounds in the ears may simultaneously stimulate a perception of light in the eyes (closed or open). He emphasised that it was important to communicate the basic traits of objects and phenomena, but to omit details - the work of art being supplemented by man's inner experiences. These ideas have implications for Larionov's subsequent development of Rayism, which claimed to depict the immaterial matter between objects[104], and Malevich's and Kruchenykh's art of zaum, which expressed the perception of the world according to an altered state of consciousness.[105] For all these artists, the work of art was no longer to be merely a representation of the visual world, but of the broader, psychical

world. Kul'bin quoted Roger Bacon's idea that some artists are like ants, dragging everything in from without, while others are like spiders, spinning from themselves, and added a third category - those who are like bees, who do both. His group, "The Impressionists", with their realistic symbolism, attempted to be bee-like artists.

These lectures were full of references to symbols, peoples, myths and individuals: the long tradition of the triangle as a symbol for a three-sided monistic unity; Pygmalion bringing Galatea to life and giving birth to Pathos; Leonardo da Vinci's thoughts on the origins of movement; Peter Altenburg's non-erotomanic songs of nudity[106]; P. Potemkin's impressionistic poem 'The Devil[107]; and Elena Polenova[108] as one of the greatest artists. For some this whirlwind of impressions and symbols, produced after random glances at "the secret heiroglyphics"[109] in his notebook, was too chaotic and non-conclusive to be persuasive. The crucial argument was illusive for those conditioned to expect a logically structured system. It took some time for one critic to understand that "this was not only a lecture about impressionism but also an impressionistic lecture"[110] and because of the startling form he was unable to detect the meaning.

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent Kul'bin's words were reflected in the art shown at Vilnius, since virtually all the exhibits have disappeared. His own works numbered twenty-seven, twelve of which had been seen in 1908 and 1909. Dominated by landscapes, they almost certainly continued the trend of psychological impressionism seen earlier in the year. The new

exhibits concentrated on views of the Crimean coast, while also expressing a move towards representing more abstract notions and feelings: e.g. Expectation, Intimate Landscape, Illusion, First Steps, On the Crimean Sea, Yalta. View from Chukurlara and Colours.

Of the remaining Triangle artists, those that had already exhibited with the group in the earlier exhibitions have already been discussed. Many, such as the Ballers, Blank, Nikolaev, Nechaev and Shmit-Ryzhova showed works they had previously displayed and thus the symbolist aspect of Triangle undoubtedly persisted.

Of the newcomers[111], it is worth noting the work of Konstantin Ivanovich Evseev (1879-1944)[112], who had studied at the Munich Academy of Art and in Paris. He later participated in the founding, and first exhibition, of the Union of Youth and was one of the few artists who supported both Triangle and the Union of Youth between 1909 and 1910. His experience in France clearly marked his exhibits in Vilnius. He exhibited several Haystacks, and of all the exhibitors, he alone seems attracted to an orthodox interpretation of French Impressionism, and Monet in particular.[113] Evseev's interest in landscape and still-life was also reflected in works he exhibited both at "The Impressionists" 1910 exhibition.

Very little is known about Evgenii P. Vashchenko, who contributed to the final two Triangle exhibitions and to The Studio of Impressionists.[114] At Vilnius, he exhibited a variety of engravings, drawings, a linocut and a sculpture[115] including: The Bride, The Doll Sleeps (wax), Egyptian Youth (linocut), It Clears Up, The Episode and Self-Portrait. However, while these were

praised by the local critic[116], those shown at the last Petersburg show, some of which had been at Vilnius, were admonished by Breshko-Breshkovskii, who felt that his "hands have forgotten his head and that all the same the hands need more talent."[117] He recognised Vashchenko's ability to illustrate the fantasy of Slezkin's literary works but was unconvinced by some of the results, and found "no feeling"[118] of ancient Egypt in the Profile of an Egyptian Youth. Vashchenko's cover for a book by Slezkin (Plate 2.16a), depicts a small, wraith-like white figure, walking towards a stretch of water and surrounded in the dark by bright spots of flowers and lights. Although the quality of the reproduction precludes analysis it evokes a sense of decorative mysticism that coincides with Triangle's symbolism. This is also felt in Vashchenko's illustrations to "Performance of Love" in The Studio of Impressionists (Plates 2.12 and 2.13), though here the line is bold and the theme distinctly erotic. As in other artists' illustrations for the almanac, symbolist pictorial language is present in the motifs of enveloping foliage, moon and stars.

More important for the development of the Russian avant-garde was Vladimir Ivanovich Kozlinskii's (1891 -1967)[119] association with Kul'bin. This began with the Vilnius exhibition, Kozlinskii's first show, and continued beyond 1910 to the "Exhibition of Contemporary Painting" organised by Kul'bin in Ekaterinodar in April 1912[120] (apparently Kozlinskii's only pre-revolutionary exhibitions). Although now recognised for his post-revolutionary graphics[121], some of his early work has also survived. It consists of line engravings, often supplemented with aquatints, of German

townscapes. According to Kovtun this early work shows Kozlinskii's skill and mastery of engraving techniques.[122] His Vilnius exhibits depicted A Street, The Market, Lorenz Kirche in Nuremburg and The House of Albert DÜrer. One of these works may have been Nuremburg (Plate 2.14). It has a rough, sketch-like quality, especially apparent in the loose linear depiction of the carriage of the left foreground. Yet Kozlinskii describes visual appearances, obeys rules of perspective and renders light and shade systematically, which suggest that he belonged to the "neo-realist" tendency within Triangle.

If "realistic symbolism" in the visual arts can be described as the the study of nature using a combination of Post-Impressionist technique and new psychological theory, then it appears to have been much in evidence in the Wreath contributions to the Vilnius show. Wreath, consisting of David and Vladimir Burlyuk and Baranov, appeared as a separate section.[123] Noticeable by their absence were Lentulov and Ekster, both of whom preferred to show numerous works at the concurrent Izdebskii salon in Odessa.

Given the generalised titles of the Burlyuks' works (such as Portrait, Study, Still-Life) it is hard to say how many were being shown for the first time. In any case, their concentration on form and use of pure, equally saturated colour appears to have been repeated, if now with an element of Fauvist imagination. Vladimir Burlyuk continued to be the most extreme of the group, exhibiting his large canvases of crude, flat web-like structures composed of blocks of pure colour and with unmodelled, distorted figures (see Footnote 19). Inevitably his works, especially his two portraits,

were strongly criticised for their childishness, lack of skill and idea, and as "an unsuccessful attempt to imitate the Frenchman Matisse".[124]

David Burlyuk contributed two still-lifes and some landscapes.[125] Red Earth (1909, Plate 2.15) indicates that he was still using a single viewpoint and one point perspective. However, aerial perspective is not observed as the brilliant turquoise of the sky and orange of the earth do not progressively fade out as they become more distant. Rather, they are combined with a delicate Japonist linear effect in the description of the trees to give the work a sense of decorative naturalism. The third Wreath contributor, Baranov, contributed almost thirty works, many of which appear to have been new, Pointillist studies of nature. His technique was compared to Kul'bin's[126], although, unlike the latter, he did not limit his use of colour to yellow, blue and red.

The Impressionists-Triangle Exhibition St. Petersburg 19 March - 14 April 1910

Less than two months after "The Impressionists" exhibition in Vilnius closed the final Triangle show opened in St. Petersburg. Far from being a repetition of the former, the Petersburg show displayed some unexpected twists in the history of the group. It also included an unusual joint exhibition of drawings and autographs of writers (both famous and non-famous).[127] The exhibition opened at the same time as the Union of Youth's first show, the Union of Russian Artists'[128] and the tour of Izdebskii's Salon.[129] There were thirteen new exhibitors, of whom at least four were already established artists.[130] Wreath again participated as a separate section, including four newcomers and Guro, Matyushin and Kamenskii as non-member exhibitors. Allegiances were further confused by the appearance of Kul'bin, David Burlyuk and Dydyshko in both Wreath and Triangle.

At the opening of the exhibition Kul'bin gave a short report. He examined the denial of academic rules; anatomy and symmetry; and the depiction of dissonance - referring in particular to the Wreath group. These artists, he said, cultivated the absence of harmony and the absence of the beautiful - they denied the whole history of painting. This did not mean they sought to turn the beautiful into the ugly or to paint scandalously. Kul'bin cited Vrubel's violation of rules in his Demon paintings as an important precedent, at least for himself. Vrubel had not sought to fight the beautiful, but had attempted to embody it with new methods. This truism was essential to Kul'bin, and crucial in his attempt to

discover new forms of beauty through an intuitive, free art.[131]

Interestingly, Kul'bin described the creative process in the following terms: "It is possible to violate all academic rules, trying to cross to the so-called 'fourth dimension', trying to convey one's inner spiritual world - thus the artist sincerely represents on the canvas how his environment appears to him."[132] Such an early reference to the fourth dimension, albeit vague, ill-defined and close to Kul'bin's psychological-impressionism, was the first by a Russian artist and presages the importance that this philosophical and spatial idea was to have on Russian avant-garde artists, like Malevich and Matyushin.[133]

Apparently, Kul'bin's notion of the fourth dimension did not involve the visualization of hyperspace by means of time and motion in time as in the Promethean philosophy of Uspenskii.[134] Even so, his writing, full of references to "intuition", "feeling, will and consciousness" and the need to represent not things, but their sensation, echoes the vocabulary employed in Uspenskii's first essay on the subject, The Fourth Dimension, published a few months earlier.[135] Furthermore, Kul'bin, with his notion of art as revelation, would almost certainly have agreed with Uspenskii's subsequently expressed view that the seeming three-dimensionality of the world is a property not of that world, but of man's "psychic apparatus"[136] and that "art in its highest manifestations is a path to cosmic consciousness".[137]

In 1910, Kul'bin acknowledged the desirability of depicting motion, but without reference to time:

> My path in art is to represent not only the existing world but also the existing signs of an object. In painting I am not

> limited by colour and form, but also depict the psyche, sound, motion etc., as far as this is necessary for the reflection of poetic experiences. The world of the artist is the reflection of his feeling, will and consciousness.[138]

Kul'bin did not elaborate his ideas about the fourth dimension, how it could be perceived or expressed, but, as is shown later, his ideas have much in common with Larionov's desire to depict intangible forms and immaterial objects in space.

Kul'bin's exhibits at "The Impressionists" bore a wide variety of titles and consisted of a series of engravings and wall majolica, as well as cycles of, and individual, oil paintings.[139] The first work in the catalogue was Symbol (cat. 106, Plate 2.16a). The pose, facial expression and nakedness of the woman resemble that of Dunichev-Andreev's panel (Plate 2.16a). However, in Kul'bin's work the mystical symbolism is diminished. His woman lies on the back of a lion-like animal and there is a sketch-like quality to her body. The distortion of anatomical form compares with the description of Anders' 1909 work, although in her case the lying woman had legs like "the carytids of the Hermitage"[140] rather than the abnormally emaciated pair in Kul'bin's work. Yanchevetskii found that Symbol "attained a greater plasticity and harmony of colour"[141] than a study for it shown in 1909. The combination of sketchiness and highly finished form coincides with Kul'bin's belief that signs of the object are all that are necessary, and that the spectator has a creative role to play in painting.

The following work, Trilogy (cat. 107), consisted of three illustrations to Evreinov's monodrama "Performance of Love": Stylisation of Banality, Night of Love and Despair.[142] All three

depict a beach somewhere on the Gulf of Finland, where the play is set. Evreinov gives Kul'bin the chance to continue his interest in coastal scenes and to supplement his earlier work with an anthropomorphic element of imagined, rather than actual, mood. This allows the crude stylisation in the pictures.

Evreinov wrote in his "Foreword to 'Performance of Love'" [Predislovie k 'Predstavleniyu lyubvi'"] that the play was conceived prior to his theory of monodrama, and was the basis for that theory.[143] Monodrama was essentially a reflection of the inner experiences of the subject and their effect on how his surroundings are perceived. Everything is presented as it appears to the single subject. Thus all nature becomes animated and the world described is subordinated to a subjective process of metamorphosis. As the outer world changes with the subject's mood so the viewer is drawn into the experience of the subject. The result is a dynamic, psychological theatricality that coincides with Kul'bin's symbolist beliefs concerning the "impressionistic" nature of reality. In Evreinov's drama, fantasy and reality are deliberately ambiguous. The identity of the subject, the "I", appears to shift from the first to the second to the third person, leaving the reader unable to discern which character is its true embodiment. Ultimately, many of the characters reflect an aspect of the subject's being. And as the moods of that being change so does the environment - the sea, pine trees, wind, colours, smells, sounds. In searching for a "complete drama", as Kul'bin searched for a unified art, Evreinov employed movement, speech, music and pictorial art in order to express mood.[144]

Evreinov's play appears to describe much that is analogous with Kul'bin's own world. The place is equivalent to Kuokkala where Kul'bin had his dacha, and the actions of the characters on the beach are played out against a typical background of distant music, silence, wind, the sound of the sea and gossiping of passers-by. At first the impressions of two old, ill men are presented, together with the local environment, tainted by their characters and perceptions; then there is the fantasy of the young man about a beautiful princess and his own fated love for "She" (Klara, a baker's girl); and finally the rejection of the young man, the meeting of the old men with Klara and her new young man, and their banal chatter. The young man is a poet and painter, while the baker's girl is flighty, according to the old men: "yesterday it was some artist or poet,... today an officer... tomorrow... a Full State Councillor".[145] Only those knowing Kul'bin could realize that these three personalities were encapsulated in one individual.

Evreinov described the opening scene, depicted in Kul'bin's Stylization of Banality (Plate 2.17), as: "Spring on the seashore. Nothing special; a kind of banal oleograph."[146] In fact, Kul'bin has shown the scene as it appeared to one of the old men who claims that beauty is the invention of painters who go around repeating the same empty proclamations. The other, however, is able to find beauty and fascination there, especially when there are young lovers to watch. Kul'bin reproduces the former's lack of imagination in his monochromatic, grey scene. The sea and sky are blocks of vertical and horizontal striations. The old men, who are

named after their physical dispositions (The Catarrhal Subject and the Haemorrhoidal Type), are represented as silhouettes sitting on a bench in the featureless foreground.

In contrast, but in keeping with the change of mood in the Second Act, Kul'bin's Night of Love (Plate 2.18) is full of swirls of dynamic, bright colour. The sea, shore and sky, together with the squatting, semi-erotic figures and the moonlight on the left, combine in their unmixed tones to create a pantheistic, flowing sense of nature. Kul'bin's fusion of the intuitive and decorative is evident in this work which, as Denisov appreciated: "very convincingly and keenly emphasised the vulgarised poetry of a moonlit night on the shore of the gulf."[147] The moment depicted is that described by "I" as he reaches the climax of his love-making with "She", when the whole world around him changed:

> ... in the dark fog there is a barely distinguishable green gold... here it curls, there it sets on the spot... enshrouds, shrinks... dies in a second of darkness, comes to life again, grows pink, turns violet, makes wonderful patterns, glimmers with an opal sediment, wafts a supernatural charm, rules - becomes an ocean, warms with colours.[148]

This image of changing colour is repeated in Kul'bin's work, where forms lose their strict delineation, and the globular blue and red of the sea, sky and shore are tinged and interrupted by the motion and light emanating from the sun and the figures on the right. The precise, monochrome linearity of the first picture is replaced by a resonant play of colour that fuses individual objects.

The final work of the "trilogy", Despair (Plate 2.19), depicts the young man sitting alone on the sand dunes, reading a letter of rejection from his love. In the distance stand other figures. The

whole scene is surrounded, unlike the previous pictures, by a proscenium, as if emphasising the play of fantasy with reality. The inscription below reads:

> ... it begins to tell of the strength of the cup of my anguish. The trees droop, it becomes darker, the pale sunset colours begin to turn purple with a sickly flush, the sea takes on a lead-yellow tinge... The letter... slightly crumpled, many times read, tear-stained...[149]

The mood has changed since the old men, now younger and more cheerful, have left, and "I" has entered. His despair has dramatic effect on the surroundings: "There is an impression of interminable grief, desolation and cold..."[150] Kul'bin conveys this through the rhythmic, anxious curves of abstract form. The world becomes unstable and threatening and Kul'bin uses the colours of Evreinov's description, endowing nature and the work with a psychological intensity. Thus the stretch of shoreline, three times transformed due to the mood of its perceivers, is depicted by Kul'bin in three distinct styles.

Lilac (cat. 108), the "sketch" for which has survived (Plate 2.20), consists of apparently random forms of blue, purple and pink colour. From these can be discerned a sunlit path in the lower centre and lilac bushes to the left and right. Three-dimensional space is ambiguous. Objects have become a medley of abstract colour that distances them from their independent, external appearance and recalls that seen in Vrubel's Lilac (Plate 1.2). Denisov described Kul'bin's work, together with two others (the first of which was also shown at this exhibition):

> Spring, and especially Mosaic and Lilac, rivet the attention with their gentle sunniness, subtle and bright colour scales, the latter even being genuine painterly scales. However, in Lilac the artist's purely painterly endeavours have somehow

> stopped, yielding more and more to the psychological deepening.[151]

Quite possibly Lilac was an attempt to embody in painterly form the sensitivity to mood expressed in Rachmaninov's Lilac, a song based on Ekaterina Beketova's poem of the same title, where the individual is powerfully moved by the simple beauty of nature.[152] This song was used by Kul'bin in his endeavours to express the unified nature of art.[153]

Kul'bin's concentration on transitory nature is clearly still in evidence in 1910. Most of his other works, including the two he showed in the Wreath section (White Mirror and Burnt Pines), are lost. However, the pastels By the Green Table (cat. 113) and Rose in the Studio (cat. 112) were described as "little hints of works, but hints permeated with joy and light"[154], while Denisov included Burnt Pines (cat. 239) among a distinctive trend in Kul'bin's landscape work, indicative of his primary concern with mood rather than form or colour.[155] Hence the tonality in a whole series of landscapes is almost exactly the same, the sketches being "drawn with colour rather than painted".[156] Such subordination of colour to mood could lead to monochromatic images and an increased reliance on the expressivity of line. This may well have been the case in Birches. In One Colour (Cat. 110). Alternatively, colour alone seems to have been the object of some of Kul'bin's works, as suggested by White on Green (cat. 115) and Blue on White (cat. 111).

The twenty-three works shown by Shmit-Ryzhova at "The Impressionists" included her original drawing for the cover of The Studio of Impressionists (cat. 189) and her illustrations to

Evreinov's monodrama (cat. 187-188). Both of the works that accompanied "Performance of Love" showed the influence of Vrubel, although they lacked his psychological intensity. Their subject is the appearance of "I"'s love and the effect it has upon him. Nature is again imbued with animate qualities, intimately connected with the response of the individual. The first, omitting linear detail except in the brightly lit figure of the girl, depicts the beach scene at a moment of emotional delight in Act One:

> She! She! And the vault of heaven, the sea and the trees are all enshrouded by a vague haze... everything else fades into the background... she enters and it becomes brighter, more joyous... The sun plays on her fair hair, giving it something like a halo, a crown... She is all in pale rose... Her blue eyes are trustful and innocent...[157]

It is worth noting the association of Shmit-Ryzhova's second illustration to "Performance of Love" (Plate 2.21) with Evreinov's play. Again the beach scene is shown, only now it is night; hence the encapsulating blues and purples, with their long vertical strokes, create only vague outlines of forms. "I", upon seeing his love approach, cries "My princess! My fairy-tale!", adding a further layer of fantasy to the motif as he visualizes the tale of a princess he told a little girl earlier. "She" has just removed her shawl to expose an unexpected radiance: "in her hair there is a barely visible garland made from tiny leaves and grasses and covered with fireflies."[158]

"She" is depicted as an ethereal princess, emerging, to the right of centre, from a dematerialized, infinite world. Modelling is minimal. One arm is outstretched, the other bent to her face, recalling the pose of the mysterious girl in Vrubel's Lilac (Plate

1.2). Her silver, fountain-like headress, together with the evocation of a mystical atmosphere through the use of soft, repetitive colour tones, is firmly in the organic symbolist tradition espoused by Pavel Kuznetsov from about 1902 to 1907 (cf. Plate 1.3).

Shmit-Ryzhova developed her interest in the image of mystical beauty in her cover for The Studio of Impressionists (cat. 189, Plate 2.22). This depicts a young woman with arms outstretched behind her, among the swirling and patterned forms of two peacocks' tails. A similar motif, one favoured by the Russian symbolists, is found in the illustration to the artist's poem "Eastern Motif", a homage to universal feminine beauty (cat. 170?, Plate 2.23).[159] Many typical symbolist images are present: night, stars, "the sad song of a fountain", bending branches of trees, the scent of magnolia, the shape of a lotus flower, moonlight.

Other works also display Shmit-Ryzhova's concern with symbolising mystery and the East (e.g. Eastern, Dreams, Day Dream), but broader interests were also apparent in titles such as Paris Folies Bergères, Roses, The Lake, Versal). Yanchevetskii found her works the best in the exhibition and their fantastic symbolism (rather than any psychological intensity) evocative of Kul'bin's newly discovered fourth dimension in art:

> All Shmit-Ryzhova's paintings, it seems to me, are that other world of the "fourth dimension"; she depicts fabulous women, slim with narrow, oblong eyes and bronze bodies; her paintings are full of a special bewitching charm and are so distinctively original that it is impossible to say she imitates someone. She depicts her own special world. For her it is unnecessary to create dissonance and wage war on symmetry. The fairy tales on which her imagination lives are so beautiful, and so talented is she in portraying them that she carries the spectators into the world of their spirit.

Her white peacocks and woman, interweaving with lianas, called Dreams is especially beautiful.[160]

Evreinov's presence at the exhibition was not restricted to Kul'bin's and Shmit-Ryzhova's illustrations to his monodrama[161]: he also showed some theatrical sketches for various recent productions at his Drama Studio and The Intimate Theatre i.e. The Death of Ase from Ibsen's Peer Gynt, d'Annunzio's Dream of an Autumn Sunset, Ali-Nur, Prologue of a Harlequinade and One Thousand and One Nights. Evidently Evreinov's interests ranged from the poetic fantasy of Ibsen to pantomime, medieval fable and modern tragedy. Although he later claimed to have created the first ever Futurist painting at this time there was no hint of such a tendency in his works exhibited in the Triangle section.[162]

Another newcomer to Triangle was Kul'bin's friend, the poet, critic and artist, Sergei Mitrofanovich Gorodetskii (1884-1967), who studied art with Konstantin Yuon in Moscow. Although he later became known as a caricaturist and illustrator, this was his first exhibition.[163] He showed ten works, including two curious studies of bast matting called Mother, as well as Lidiya Nikolaevna, Balaclava studies (1908) and Vasil'sura studies (1909). No descriptions of any of these works survive, but the use of matting implies an experimental approach to artistic materials, perhaps related to his brother Aleksandr's use of cotton wool and cambric, which was again in evidence at "The Impressionists" in 1910.[164]

K.I. Mazaraki exhibited a number of works with mystical and mythological themes. Perhaps of all the Triangle artists, she was closest in spirit to Shmit-Ryzhova. Although she apparently never

exhibited again, her works in this show, Motherhood, The Secret, Suspicion, The Night, Daphnis and Chloe, Salomé and Valkyrie, were praised:

> Here is how Ms. Mazaraki sees 'motherhood' [cat. 124]... it is a woman with the head of Botticelli's Madonna and ten sagging breasts. These breasts are gluttonously sucked by ten infants. Any artist may freely interpret this or that subject as he wishes, but Ms. Mazaraki leaves the impression of unquestionable gifts. Not everyone may like her Motherhood but no one can accuse her of being untalented. There are original means of expression and a feeling of colour."[165]

While the co-existence of the worldly and the spiritual, often encountered in Triangle, and not unrelated to the use of Botticellian features and abstraction in Borisov-Musatov, is evoked in this description, the use of repetition in order to symbolize the extent of the woman's labour appears original.

Petras S. Rimša was a Lithuanian sculptor who had set up the first Lithuanian Art Society, of which Čiurlionis was to become vice-president, in Vilnius in early 1907. Like Čiurlionis, Rimša subsequently moved to St. Petersburg in search of a more lively artistic environment. "The Impressionists" of 1910 was his first exhibition there. In keeping with symbolist tradition, he also utilized mythological images, as seen in Golgotha (cat. 146, Plate 2.16a). The technique employed in Golgotha is unclear because the reproduction conceals the metallic inlay noted in the catalogue. What is evident is that the work is a stylised depiction of the place of crucifixion: a few bent figures make their way up to the cross on top of the hill which is struck by rays of sunlight appearing from behind a cloud. Most of the metalwork appears to be concentrated on the darkened hill. Rimša's other exhibits

reflected a predominant interest in the mysterious qualities of moonlit night.[166]

It is worth also mentioning the inclusion of such artists as Deters, Diderikhs and Shestopalov, all of whom subsequently gained some recognition for their work. The exhibits of Erna Vladimirovna Deters (1876 – ?)[167] included two forest scenes (cat. 50, 51) which were described by Breshko-Breshkovskii: "A nice, pleasant note resounds in Deters landscapes. They are drawn respectably and are tonally correct. These small works could crop up in the Union, at the Wanderers - anywhere you wish."[168]

Both Shestopalov and Diderikhs had participated in one exhibition in Russia prior to "The Impressionists". N. I. Shestopalov[169] exhibited five paintings with Triangle including a Self-Portrait, Night and The Dance. Andrei Romanovich Diderikhs[170] (1884-1942) had just returned to Petersburg from Ažbé's studio in Munich. At "The Impressionists" he exhibited a series of temperas, pastels and watercolours. His Before the Dance (Plate 2.16a) is a study of a young woman dressed in a loose, striped shawl and standing, arms outspread, as if about to courtsey or introduce an act, before curtains. The rhythm in the folds of the curtain and stripes of the shawl are enhanced by the simplification of form. Without further visual evidence or contemporary criticism it is impossible to align these artists with the prevailing trends of realistic and idealistic symbolism in Triangle.

WREATH

While Kul'bin's ideas and the exhibits of the Triangle group acted as an adequate counterpart to the divisions within the literary symbolist school, by March 1910, when both the symbolist journal Libra [Vesy] and The Golden Fleece had ceased publication, they were beginning to look passé. Fauve works by Matisse, Vlaminck, Marquet, Derain, Van Dongen, Braque and Friesz were now known to the Russians, largely through their being exhibited in 1909 at the second Golden Fleece Salon[171] and the Izdebskii Salon.[172] In the season of 1909-1910, really only in the Neo-Primitivist work of Larionov, Goncharova and the Burlyuks, was a way forward for Russian modernism found that in any way echoed or exploited the Fauves' pictorial solutions (including the use of saturated colour as space and the proto-Cubist experiments of Braque).

Of the ten Wreath exhibitors at "The Impressionists", David Burlyuk, Dydyshko and Kul'bin, contributed to Triangle as well. Apparently one of Burlyuk's two Triangle contributions, Kherson Port (Plate 2.16b), was an impressionistic sketch of sailing boats in a harbour[173], as if reiterating Triangle's concern with the depiction of water. However, Wreath's sixty works, more than half of which were Vladimir and David Burlyuk's, lacked the emphasis on mystical and dematerialized imagery found in Triangle. Instead, they utilized Fauvist and Neo-Primitivist techniques in their examination of the formal qualities of painting. As a result they use saturated rather than opaque colour, and much of their work consists of untitled landscapes, still-lifes and portraits. The

pantheism and introspective intensity of Triangle are absent.

Vladimir Burlyuk, who had been compared unfavourably with Matisse at Vilnius, showed twenty-four works. They were heavily criticised for their extremism, rejection of all aesthetic rules and lack of anything worthwhile in their experiments. One critic considered Vladimir Burlyuk's Portrait of my Sister (cat. 193) so improbably bad that in comparison the "most awful lubok was a work of Raphael".[174] Rostislavov, however, was more sympathetic - finding the search for a primitive directness and boldness, if not the results, admirable.[175]

Two of David Burlyuk's eleven works are known. Portrait (cat. 215, Plate 2.16b) depicts a woman and a pear-shaped jug apparently floating in space. The work has deliberately clumsy flat forms and an unfinished appearance that recalls the coarsely distorted forms of folk signboards and lubki, which Burlyuk was then collecting (see Footnote 127). Significantly, the painting resembles works by Elena Guro of 1910, such as Woman in a Headscarf (Scandinavian Tsarevna) (Plate 2.24) which depicts a heavily jowled young woman. In the Guro lines are heavy and coarse; space is ambiguous; the objects mysterious and unidentifiable. The young woman has bright red protuding lips, and a three-fingered hand not dissimilar to the crude hands of Burlyuk's woman. Her head, covered by a long red shawl, is seen in profile and despite the close-up view, lacks detail. This lack of detail and plain, sculptural form, ambivalently cut off by the edge of the canvas, depriving the work of explicit reference to the concrete world, is echoed in Burlyuk's work. The objects, depicted pushed up against

the picture surface, offer a contrast in mass as seen in signboard art.

During 1910 Guro and Burlyuk intimately collaborated: Guro (as well as Matyushin and Kamenskii[176]) not only contributed to the Wreath section of "The Impressionists", but was also simultaneously involved with the Burlyuk brothers and Khlebnikov, in the publication of the almanac A Trap for Judges [Sadok Sudei].[177] It is, however, impossible to say whether Woman in a Headscarf was shown at this exhibition for, of Guro's four works, only one (Pink Sky) had a title, and none received attention from the critics.

Burlyuk's Still-Life with a Dog (cat. 214), which belonged to Matyushin and Guro[178], can also be compared with Guro's: Morning of the Giant (1910, Plate 2.25). The same principles applied in these works as to the previous two. Thus the delineation of form and colour are crude and simplified. In Guro's picture, next to a china cup and saucer, are two dog-like figures (one white with black ears like the dog in Burlyuk's work). These represent the provincial Russian ceramic or wooden toys popular with Guro's avant-garde acquaintances.[179] A similar treatment of space and mass presides in Burlyuk's Still-Life with Dog, though here the dog huddles under an almost non-existent table on which grey, brown, blue and yellow coloured jugs are randomly distributed.

Minor contributors to Wreath included L.I. Mikhnevich, the Burlyuks' mother[180], Kovalenko and Dydyshko (Lidiya Burlyuk, who was exhibiting with the Union of Russian Artists, was missing). The Burlyuks claimed to have discovered the artistic talent in Pavel Kovalenko[181], a tradesman on the estate where their family

lived. His primitive works were said to resemble those of Rousseau.[182] Unfortunately, there is no description of Kovalenko's work, and only the titles remain: The Bull, Winter in the Country, Dnieper Flats and Night on the Wharf.

Konstantin Vinkent'evich Dydyshko (1876-1932)[183] went on to be an important figure in the development of the Union of Youth. A student of Kardovskii's at the Petersburg Academy, he contributed a variety of studies and "rough sketches". He had studied with von Stück and Ažbé in Munich, and was capable of working successfully in a various styles. The nature of Dydyshko's works at "The Impressionists" can be ascertained only from one short description and one very poor reproduction (Plate 2.16b). The latter apparently depicts an extremely simplified landscape scene in which a young, undetailed figure stands, arm upraised, on the shore of a lake. In the background a smooth line describes steep hills. The simplicity and clear demarcation of form appear Gauguinesque. However, Yanchevetskii found a sharp distinction between the artist's drawings and paintings:

> As an example of a strange conception of art it is possible to point to the work of Dydyshko. As much as his pencil drawings are conveyed with a light, enchanting melody of lines, his oil paintings are capable of rousing indignation. Moreover, he is finishing the Higher Art School.[184]

From the above discussion of Triangle and Wreath it is clear that, despite signs of a transition to new values in the latter, Triangle's art and aesthetics showed many of the concerns and motifs of the Russian symbolist writers. The "impressionism" of Kul'bin and his group was imbued with the feeling that the visible

world is a feeble reflection of the real world. Like both Blok and Bely, the artists considered musical forms to be the most suitable means to recapture the child's moment of intuition - that spontaneous, unencumbered and innocent condition in which the human soul and perception are at their purest. Wreath, however, ignored the symbolists' notion of transcendentalism and allowed, as the Fauves had done, colour to play the part of a subjective and emotional equivalent of space.

The belief in experiment and knowledge derived from experience through the senses was reflected most clearly in the art and ideas of Kul'bin and Matyushin. "Realistic" symbolism dominated Triangle, but the boundaries between "realistic" and "idealistic" symbolism were blurred in the psychological approach, and it encompassed numerous styles: a naturalistic, momentary approach to the physical derived from French Impressionism, seen in the work of Evseev and David Burlyuk; decorative *Art Nouveau* in Kalmakov and Shmit-Ryzhova; a Divisionist use of brushstrokes of pure colour seen in Kul'bin and Baranov; an expressive use of colour as the equivalent of emotion in Baudouin de Courtenay; a synaesthetic use of colour as sound in Nikolaev and Sinyagin. Ultimately, it is this diversity that defines Kul'bin's notion of impressionism, based as it is on his idea of "free art" and "the world as a projection of the artist's psyche."[185]

FOOTNOTES

1. After the closure of his fourth show, Kul'bin also took part in Izdebskii's International Salon on the Petersburg and Riga legs of its tour. This first salon organised by Vladimir Alekseevich Izdebskii (1882-1965) toured Odessa (4 December 1909 - 25 January 1910), Kiev (13 February-14 March 1910), Petersburg (20 April-25 May 1910) and Riga (12 June-7 July 1910). His second salon was held in Odessa (March 1911). Kul'bin's exhibits at the first salon were Ecstasy, On the Shore and various untitled sketches and studies. At the second salon he showed Avenue, First Steps, Hilly Forest, Forest Tale and some studies.

2. Evgenii Konstantinovich Pskovitinov was the founder of the Non-Aligned Society of Artists in Petersburg, 1912. He showed works of a "cubo-realist" style at their 1913 exhibition (see [anon.] "Vnepartiinaya vystavka" Rech' No. 55, 26 February 1913, p. 5). He was also a founder member of Filonov's Intimate Studio of Painters and Draughtsmen, March 1914. He showed one study at "The Impressionists", 1909.

3. Concerning the Union of Youth's registration, see Chapter Three.

4. The exhibition took place in the premises of a former fruit shop on the corner of Morskaya and Vosnesenskaya Streets.

5. N. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Pod misticheskim treugol'nikom (Vystavka impressionistov)", Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11002, 11 March 1909, p. 5.

6. Novaya rus' No. 61, 4 March 1909, p. 5.

7. "Khudozhestvennyya vesti" Rech' No. 62, 5 March 1909, p. 5.

8. N. Kul'bin, "Svetnaya muzyka", Studiya impressionistov, p. 25.

9. P. Stupples, Pavel Kuznetsov (Cambridge) 1989, p. 82.

10. V. Yastrebtsov, Russkaya muzykalnaya gazeta No. 39-40, 1908, cited in Kul'bin "Svetnaya muzyka", op. cit. pp. 21-22.

11. Although a "light-keyboard" was devised for "Prometheus" it was not used until 1915. It consisted of twelve notes, colour-tuned to Skryabin's own colour scale, which differed from Rimskii-Korsakov's and which was said to be based on the musical cycle of fifths.

12. Kul'bin, "Svetnaya muzyka", op. cit., p. 25.

13. See N. Kul'bin, Svobodnoe muzyka. Primenenie novoi teorii khudozhestvennago tvorchestva k muzyke (St. Petersburg), 1910.

14. See, for example, N. Kul'bin, "Novyya techeniya v iskusstve" Trudy vserossiiskago s'ezda khudozhnikov v Petrograde 1911-1912 (Petrograd) 1915 Vol. 1, p. 40 and the discussion of Kul'bin's

Vilnius lectures below. The Saratov pianist Anatolii Nikolaevich Drozdov (1883-1950) graduated from the Petersburg Conservatory in 1909. From 1911 he lectured on the relationship between painting and music and frequently provided the musical accompaniment to Kul'bin's lectures.

15. Makovskii's "Salon 1908-1909", Petersburg, 4 January-8 March 1909. Exhibitors included Bakst, Benois, Bilibin, Borisov-Musatov, Bogaevskii, Bromirskii, David Burlyuk, Vasnetsov, Vrubel, Aleksandr and Lidiya Gaush, Golovin, Grabar, Denisov, Dobuzhinskii, Evseev, Izdebskii, Werefkin, Kandinsky, Konchalovskii, Krymov, Kustodiev, Latri, Milioti, Mitrokhin, Petrov-Vodkin, Rerikh, Ryabushkin, Sapunov, Somov, Stelletskii, Sudeikin, Surikov, Serov, Kharlamov, Tsionglinskii, Čiurlionis, Shitov, Yuon, Jawlensky, Yakulov, Feofilaktov, Korovin, Falk.

16. The second Golden Fleece Salon took place in Moscow 11 January-15 February 1909. It was one of the first Russian exhibitions to show the work of the French Fauves. Exhibitors included Braque, Fon-Vizin, Derain, Goncharova, Van Dongen, Kuznetsov-Volzhskii, P. Kuznetsov, Larionov, Le Fauconnier, Matveev, Matisse, V. Milioti, Naumov, Petrov-Vodkin, Ryabushinskii, Saryan, Ulyanov, Utkin, Vlaminck, Rouault. Many of the pictures were reproduced in Zolotoe runo No. 2-3, 1909.

17. The New Society of Artists (1904-1917). Founded by D.N. Kardovskii essentially as an exhibiting society. Founder members included Bogaevskii, A. Gaush, Latri, N. Petrov, Shchusev and N. Fokin. In March 1909 the New Society's sixth exhibition opened in Petersburg. Exhibitors included Bogaevskii, Baranov, Della-Vos-Kardovskaya, Zaretskii, Konchalovskii, Konenkov, Kruglikova, L'vov, Matyushin, Meister, Mashkov, Mitrokhin, Novodvorskaya and Ekster.

18. The Union of Russian Artists (6) 1 March-8 April 1909. Exhibitors included Čiurlionis, Jawlensky, Krymov, Larionov, Ostroumova-Lebedeva, Sapunov, Sudeikin, Utkin.

19. Wreath-Stefanos 18 March-12 April 1909. The six exhibitors, who contributed 78 works in all, were: Vladimir Burlyuk, David Burlyuk (21 works), Baranov, Gaush, Ekster and Lentulov (23 works). Vladimir Burlyuk's thirty-six works dominated: "Burlyuk uses one and the same method for all his coloured canvases: he rules thick strokes across the canvas producing a piece of an absurd net or web... in the centre of which he puts a horse, a cow, a man or a bird... By comparison his brother David is an academician: he's a Pointillist... When the eye gets used to the medley of daubs and the dazzle abates then here and there it is possible to see half-successful attempts at *plein-air* painting... The sole ray of hope in this kingdom of the Burlyuks is the big portrait and landscape of Lentulov. Here there is air and sun and nature... it would be a shame if Lentulov's gifts perish in foolish and unhealthy company" (N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Venok stefanos ili 'yunoshi v kurtochkakh'" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11029, 28 March 1909, p. 6).

20. Including A. Gorodetskii (who sometimes used the pseudonym A. Gei) and V. Bystrenin, neither of whom appeared in the catalogue (see below).

21. Only Larionov showed similar flair in the discovery of new talent. His exhibitions were "Donkey's Tail" (11 March-18 April 1912, Moscow, see Chapter Five), "Target" (24 March-7 April 1913, Moscow, and the associated exhibition of lubki), and "No. 4" (23 March-23 April 1914, Moscow).

22. Novaya Rus' No. 61, 4 March 1909, p. 5; "Khudozhestvennyya vesti" Rech' No. 62, 5 March 1909, p. 5. See Footnote 19 concerning the Wreath-Stefanos exhibition.

23. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 11 March 1909.

24. Metsenat, "Vystavka impressionistov", Peterburgskaya gazeta No. 67, 10 March 1909, p. 3. Yanchevetskii also noted that: "... such an original painting as the Crimean view, with its group of heavy clouds in the sky, proves that if Kul'bin, would only be a spontaneous artist when working, his pictures could obtain that artistic harmony that he lacks." ("Vystavka impressionistov" Rossiya No. 1024, 26 March 1909, p. 3).

25. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 11 March 1909.

26. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Inv. No. Zhb-1362.

27. For reproductions of Čiurlionis' work of this period, see Lionginas Šepetys, Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, Vilnius 1981, pp. 193-214.

28. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov".

29. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "U impressionistov II" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11632, 26 March 1910, p. 5.

30. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 11 March 1909.

31. Vaulin's majolica exhibits also used similar motifs, if more traditionally. His exhibits included: A Persian Illumination, 6 Eastern Tiles, 2 Vases of a Greek-Scythian Type, A Belt in the Russian Style and A Panel with Swans.

32. Kul'bin, "Svetnaya muzyka" Studiya impressionistov, p. 26.

33. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 11 March 1909; Metsenat, "Vystavka impressionistov"; Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov".

34. Simultaneously Kalmakov contributed works (twenty-two 'Pictures to a Single Tragedy' [a censored production of Wilde's Salomé]) to the Union of Russian Artists exhibition (1 March-8 April 1908). These were apparently outstanding archetypal "abstract-

psychological portraits... The Whore, The Slave, The Princess, The Man in Iron, The Executioner, The Page Boy." (Breshko-Breshkovskii, "V Pushkinskom dome (Vystavka kartin Soyuza russkikh khudozhnikov) III" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 10994, 6 March 1909, p. 5. In this article Breshko-Breshkovskii highly praises Kalmakov's work).

35. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 11 March 1909.

36. Nothing is known of N. M. Sinyagin's biography.

37. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov".

38. [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov" Severo-zapadnyi golos (Vilnius) No. 1249, 12 January 1910, p. 3.

39. Metsenat, "Vystavka impressionistov". In 1910 Verner's exhibits were noted as the most popular at the "Impressionists" show (Novaya rus' No. 103, 15 April 1909, p. 4).

40. It is interesting to note, given the common debt of Triangle exhibitors to Borisov-Musatov, that the latter was posthumously represented at "The Impressionists" by a "coloristically interesting majolica [vase]. He has said everything here with his favourite wan and delicate tones." (Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim (vystavka impressionistov)", Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11004, 12 March 1909, p. 6.).

41. The daughter of the famous Polish-Russian professor of philology Ivan Baudouin de Courtenay. After the revolution she left Russia with her family and settled in Poland.

42. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 12 March 1909.

43. Ibid.

44. Mirbeau's complete works were published in Moscow (1908-1911). Le Jardin des supplices, a bitter social satire, was written in 1899. Maksimilian Voloshin, who was acquainted with the writer, first wrote about The Garden of Tortures in 1901 ("Novaya kniga Oktava Mirbo" Kur'er (St, Petersburg) No. 248, 8 September 1901 p. 3). From 1903 Mirbeau was a founder member of the Académie Goncourt, and his study of neurasthenia, Les vingt et un jours d'un neurasthénique (1901) has much in common with the Goncourt brothers' ideas (see below, this Chapter).

45. Although Munch did not exhibit in Russia, The Scream had been published in the widely circulated La Revue Blanche (Paris), December 1895.

46. [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov", Severo-zapadnyi golos. It should be noted that Baudouin de Courtenay also showed Salomé.

47. See "Treugol'nik" exhibition catalogue, (St. Petersburg) 1910, p. 39 and the pencilled note in Katalog 1908 Vystavka 'Sovremennykh

techenii v iskusstve' (St. Petersburg) 1908, p. 8 in the collection of the Repin Institute, Leningrad.

48. See Chapter One, Footnote 94.

49. Metsenat, "Vystavka impressionistov".

50. [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov" Severo-zapadnyi golos. The Balalaika Player was owned by Kul'bin.

51. However, Nikolaev's other works, including The Street, On the Steppes and Portrait of Ya. A. T. (the critic Tugend'khold?), are much harder to align with any single tendency. His small vignette (Studiya Impressionistov, p. 14) is fully *fin-de-siecle* symbolist in its depiction of a young woman entwined with serpents.

52. The Kalmuck were western Buddhist tribes who lived between west China and the Volga valley.

53. Grigor'ev studied at the Stroganov Institute, Moscow (1903-1907) and at the Petersburg Academy of Arts (1907-1912). At the latter his teachers were D.N. Kardovskii, who taught many of the future Russian avant-garde, and A.A. Kiselev. He lived in France from 1912 to 1914, and became a member of the World of Art in 1913. Besides this exhibition he had no further relations with either Triangle or the Union of Youth. He emigrated in 1919.

54. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov".

55. Baller was born in Budaki, Bessarabia. Died in Bucharest. Also known as Bal'er. During the late 1900s lived with his wife in the Netherlands and in 1911 graduated from the Amsterdam Academy of Arts. Lived mostly in Petersburg until 1919. Then moved to Kishinev, Moldavia where he lived, teaching at the Kishinev Art Institute, until 1941.

56. Lidiya Arionesko-Baller, exhibited less frequently than her husband generally contributing fewer, and less remarkable, works. Her works shown in the 1909 Impressionists exhibitions were dominated by Dutch themes (in Petersburg she displayed seven Volendam sketches while in 1910 she exhibited a self-portrait that bore little resemblance to her "surprisingly correct facial features": "Some kind of nightmare with an improbably ugly twisted face" (N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "U impressionistov" II, Birzhevye vedomosti, No. 11632 26 March 1910, p. 5).

57. "Wajang. Yavaiskii kukol'nyi teatr'", Studiya impressionistov pp. 28-30; "Apollon budnichnyi i Apollon chernyavyi" (pp. 11-13) and "O khromoterapii uzhe ispol'zovannoi" (pp. 23-24) Soyuz molodezhi, No. 3, (St. Petersburg) 1913.

58. Baller's first exhibition was "Blanc et Noir", Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg 1903.

59. See Konstantin Erberg, "Osennyaya vystavka", Zolotoe runo No. 10, 1907, p. 70.

60. N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim", 12 March 1909. This compares with his illustrations of disfigured and distorted Javanese puppets in Studiya impressionistov (pp. 28-30).

61. Very little is known about Mitel'man.

62. Savelii Yakovlevich Shleifer (1881 - ?) showed two works (Sunny Day and Overcast Day), neither of which received acknowledgement from the critics. He graduated from the Odessa Art College in 1904, studied at the Paris Academie des Beaux Arts 1905-1908 and the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts 1908-1909. First worked as a theatrical designer in 1907 (Gorky's Children of the Sun). First exhibited at the "Impressionists" 1909. Participated in all the Union of Youth exhibitions. From 1912 worked on commissions for the Troitskii Theatre and in 1915 began work as a designer at the Liteinyi Theatre.
Evgenii Yakovlevich Sagaidachnyi (1886-1961) contributed one study. Prior to 1910 he studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. He was mobilized during the First World War, and subsequently lived in L'vov. Contributed to exhibitions organised by Kul'bin, the Union of Youth and Larionov. First showed at the "Impressionists" 1909.

63. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 12 March 1909.

64. V. Bubnova "Moi vospominaniya o V.I. Matvee (Vladimir Markove)" October 1960 (unpublished), Archive of the Academy of Arts, Riga.

65. Nikolai Nikanorovich Dubovskoi (1859-1918). Professor of the landscape studio at the Petersburg Aademy from 1909. Member of the Wanderers exhibiting society from 1886.

66. Bubnova "Moi vospominaniya" (unpaginated).

67. See Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim" 11 March 1909.

68. The work of the remaining artists should be briefly mentioned. That of Blank, Meister, Mostova and Anders, as far as it is known, has been discussed earlier. However, a further five artists also appeared in 1909 - Egorov, Kuchumov, Skalon, Gerst-Ryzhova and Kiseleva.
L. I. Gerst-Ryzhova contributed hand embroidered cushions, the designs of which are unknown. She made a similar contribution to the Vilnius exhibition.
Elena Andreevna Kiseleva (1878-1974), who was not in the catalogue, was cited as an example of a decline in the standards of women's art (Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov"), although she went on to participate successfully with the Union of Russian Artists.
A. V. Skalon (1874-1942), had begun exhibiting with the Wanderers in 1906 and subsequently became a committee member of the Spring Exhibitions in the Petersburg Academy of Arts. Thus his inclusion in a progressive exhibition such as "The Impressionists", where he

contributed one untitled work, seems somewhat extraordinary. In 1909 he was known as much as an art critic as an artist. Mikhail Dmitrievich Egorov displayed four untitled works. A young Saratov friend and pupil of the artist Aleksandr Savinov. Vasilii Nikitich Kuchumov (1888-1959) was possibly the most talented of these newcomers to Triangle. He contributed six studies to the Petersburg exhibition in 1909, participated in the Vilnius show later in the year (ex-catalogue) and in the last Triangle exhibition the following spring (The Crimea, The Collection, Rostov Belfry and two studies). He graduated from the Petersburg Academy in 1916 and won the highest award for his diploma work, Peter the Great shows off the Statue of Venus sent to him by the Pope. He was also awarded one of three prizes given for his work shown at the Spring Exhibition in 1917. Although his works at the Triangle shows received no comment from the critics, it appears that Kul'bin had uncovered another new talent.

69. Also known as Vladimir Davidovich Baranov-Rossiné. Baranov later became known for his mobile-sculptural innovations and his experiments with optophonic piano (see Vladimir Baranoff-Rossiné 1888-1942 Exhibition catalogue, Galerie Jean Chauvelin, (Paris) 1970.

70. Baranov had exhibited at the first Wreath-Stefanos exhibition, January 1908. Other exhibitions were XV Moscow Association of Artists (January 1908); 6th Exhibition of the New Society of Artists (March 1909); and "Link" (Kiev, Autumn 1908).

71. V. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov".

72. [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov" Severo-zapadnyi golos.

73. Matyushin also contributed two views of the Southern Caucasus to the simultaneous show of the New Society of Artists.

74. "Sensation of the Fourth Dimension" (p. 1), 1912-13. Cited by Povelikhina "Matyushin's Spatial System", The Structurist 1975-1976, vol. 15-16, p. 67.

75. Concerning Matyushin's later expanded vision, "See-Know", theories see Povelikhina, Ibid.; C. Douglas "Beyond Reason: Malevich, Matiushin and their Circles", The Spiritual in Art (exhibition catalogue). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, (New York) 1986; Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, 1976; C. Lodder, Russian Constructivism, New Haven and London, 1983; L. Dalrymple-Henderson The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art (Princeton) 1983; C. Douglas "The Universe: Inside and Out", The Structurist 1975-1976 vol. 15-16, pp. 72-79; C. Douglas "Colors without Objects: Russian Color Theories (1908-1932)" The Structurist, 1973-1974 Vol. 13-14, pp. 30-41.

76. N. Kul'bin, "Garmoniya, dissonans i tesnyya sochetaniya v iskusstve i zhizni", Trudy vserossiksogo s'ezda khudozhnikov v Petrograde, Dek. 1911- yanvar' 1912 (vol. I), (Petrograd) 1914, p. 39.

77. Debora L. Silverman, "The Brothers de Goncourts' Maison d'un Artiste: French Art Nouveau between History and the Psyche, 1869-1889, Arts Magazine, May 1985, p. 126.

78. Ibid. Cited from "Souvenirs des Goncourts" La Revue Encyclopédique No. 153, 8 août 1896, pp. 550-551.

79. Guro's posthumously published Nebesnye Verblyuzhata (St. Petersburg, 1914) and her unpublished Bednyi rytsar are full of symbolism and flights of fancy. She clearly felt the depiction of imagined worlds as equally as valid as that of the real world. Both works, conceived in the summer of 1910, are full of miniature tales with independent subjects.

80. Most of Matyushin's early works are presently in the Russian Museum, Leningrad.

81. Povelikhina, "Matyushin's Spatial System", p. 70.

82. Metsenat, "Vystavka impressionistov". Apple Tree in Blossom was shown, ex-catalogue, at the Vilnius show. Rubtsov's Marino (Evening) (shown in 1910, with The Street and three studies of flowers) was described by Breshko-Breshkovskii as "pleasant and fine in the colours of the motif". ("U impressionistov II" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11632, 26 March 1910, p. 5).

83. Aleksei Eliseevich Kruchenykh. A graphic artist from Kherson province. Received his instructors diploma from Odessa Art School 1906. Moved to Moscow in 1907. Came into contact with Burlyuks. Caricatures published in Ves' Kherson v kharikaturakh, sharzhakh i portretakh (vyp. 1, 2) (Kherson) 1910. By 1912 had given up painting for poetry. Worked with Hylaea group of Cubo-Futurist poets.

84. Vasilii Vasil'evich Kamenskii. Born near Perm, he moved to Petersburg in 1906 to study agriculture. Also worked as an icon restorer. Began write poetry and edit the journal Vesna in 1908. Met Burlyuk in 1909. Published twelve poems in Sadok sudei (1910).

85. V. Kamenskii, Ego-moya biografiya, (Moscow) 1918, p. 96.

86. Dated December 1911. In an inscription beneath the work Kamenskii describes himself as "a devoted admirer of 'Wreath'". See below concerning his work at the 1910 "Impressionists" show.

87. Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Gorodetskii (also known as A. M. Gei) (1886-1914).

88. Rech' 15 April 1909, No. 101, p. 5

89. V. Pyast, Vstrechi (Leningrad) 1929, p. 76.

90. Owned by Kul'bin according to the catalogue.

91. See "Treugol'nik" exhibition catalogue (1910).

92. Gorodetskii's creative interests were also evident in his contribution to the Petersburg exhibition "Art in the Life of the Child" December 1908 - 8 January 1909. To this slightly earlier show he loaned his collection of provincial children's whistles and pipes - seventy in all, from many different regions of Russia. This exhibition also saw the participation of Zakharina-Unkovskaya (whose ideas on the relationship of colour and sound were discussed by Kul'bin in "Svetnaya muzyka"), Voinov and Gaush. Zakharina-Unkovskaya read a lecture on her "Colour-Sound-Number" theory of education; Rostislav Voinov (a future founder of the Union of Youth and friend of Matyushin) exhibited his stylised wooden animal-dolls; and Aleksandr Gaush (co-founder of the Union of Youth) illustrated an exhibit of the alphabet according to the 'American system' as well as co-ordinating the artistic side of the 'Life and Word. A Reader' section of the exhibition. Gorodetskii contributed one symbolist poem to Sadok sudei in 1910.

93. Novaya rus' No. 61, 4 March 1909, p. 5. Prince Vladimir Vladimirovich Baryatinskii (1874-1941), frequenter of the Stray Dog, playwright and theatre owner in Petersburg. One of his unused apartments on Nevskii Prospekt was to become the location for several avant-garde exhibitions, including those of Triangle and the Union of Youth. Prince Sergei Mikhailovich Volkonskii (1860-1937) - theatre director, founder of rhythmic gymnastics course in Petersburg and writer on dance. Emigrated after 1917.

94. Ibid.

95. The exhibition was held in the former building of the State Bank, 6 Ostrovorotnaya Street

96. Also absent were Kalmakov, Grigor'ev, Meister and Anders.

97. "New Paths in Art: The Word, Music and the Plastic Arts", Hall of the Gentry Club, 8 January 1910; "Impressionism (The Word, Plastic Arts and Music)", Vilna City Club, 30 January 1910; Lecture, "Zula" Lithuanian Club, 31 January 1910. Little is known about the third other than it was an outline of the role of the human subconscious in life.

98. Performed by Stanek-Lovlyanskaya, a pupil of Skryabin's.

99. Stanislaw Wyspiański (1869-1907). Polish artist from Kraków. He was also a dramatist and poet. Leader of the "Young Poland" modernist movement. Well known for his stained glass windows and *art nouveau* pastels. His theatrical activity embodied many of Kul'bin's ideas concerning a unified art: "Taking both ancient Greek theatre and Wagner as his models and making use of folk arts, village customs, popular ceremonies, processions and Christmas puppet shows, Wyspiański created a total theatre that is all image - shapes, colours, sounds - and that succeeds in uniting many different arts." (Daniel Gerould, 20th Century Polish Avant-Garde Drama, London 1977, p. 19).

100. N.R. "V bedlam u dekadentov" Vilenskii kur'er (Vilnius) No. 194, 1 February 1910, p. 3.

101. [anon] "Lektsiya" Vilenskii vestnik. Vilnius No. 1967, 8 January 1910, p. 3.

102. N. Kul'bin "Svobodnoe iskusstvo, kak osnova zhizni", Studiya impressionistov, pp. 3-14. For a discussion of the ideas expressed in this article see Chapter Three.

103. [anon.] "Lektsiya ob impressionizme" Severo-zapadnyi golos No. 1268, 3 February 1910, pp3-4.

104. Concerning Rayism, see below and Chapters Six and Seven.

105. Concerning the use of zaum, see Chapters Seven and Eight.

106. Peter Altenburg (Pseudonym of Richard Englander) 1859-1919. Austrian writer and doctor. A prominent representative of Austrian impressionism (together with Bar and Shnitzler). Used small forms, aphorisms, poems in prose, quick sketches in one or two lines. Attempted the expression of fleeting impressions. Two of his books were translated into Russian in 1908. His form of impressionism appears influential upon Kul'bin and Guro in particular. See L. Movich "Peter Al'tenberg" Sovremennyi mir (St. Petersburg) No. 8, August 1908. In 1911 Altenburg's article "Prekrasnaya nagota" (Beautiful Nudity) appeared together with articles by Evreinov and Kul'bin in an anthology edited by Evreinov, Nagota po stsene (St. Petersburg) 1911, pp. 102-103.

107. Petr Petrovich Potemkin (1886-1926). Contributor to Satirikon and other Russian journals. Satirical poet. One of the leading participants in the Stray Dog cabaret, the House of Interludes and the Crooked Mirror. Wrote sketches and plays. His poetry presented little pictures of life at various ends of the social scale.

108. Elena Dmitrievna Polenova (1850-1898). Painter and graphic artist. Illustrated Russian folk tales. Worked at Abramtsevo. Designed furniture with folk motifs and floral patterns. Sister of the artist V.D. Polenov. Exhibited with the Wanderers.

109. N.R. "V bedlam".

110. Ibid.

111. Minor contributors included N.A. Shmit (husband of Shmit-Ryzhova) and I.G. Rybakov, who continued Triangle's interest in transient times of day and musicality. Shmit contributed four works including Night, The Rising Moon and Lilac. He had previously contributed a work called Lilac to the "Spring Exhibition in the Academy of Arts" 1907 and had also participated in the first "Autumn Exhibition, 1906, showing several works e.g. The Wave and On the Neva). Rybakov contributed four works, two entitled Towards Evening, Child's Swing and Melody in a Blue Tone.

He had previously participated in the second "Autumn Exhibition", 1907, and was to join the Moscow Link Society of Artists in 1917. One further participant at Vilnius was N.N. Krukovskaya, who contributed works of embroidery to both this and Triangle's final show in Petersburg.

112. Evseev studied at the Munich Academy of Arts and in private Parisian studios. Evseev had taken part in the 1907 (4th) exhibition of the Union of Russian Artists and Makovskii's "Salon 1909". In 1909 he was engaged as a stage and costume designer at the Kommissarzhevskii Theatre in Petersburg.

113. [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov" Severo-zapadnyi golos No.1246, 8 January 1910, p.3.

114. Vashchenko's illustrations appeared in the magazine Zritel' (The Spectator) in 1909 and in the autumn of the same year he planned to publish a literary and art criticism leaflet entitled Bogema (Bohemia) with the poet Nikolai Efimov and the fiction writer Yuri L'vovich Slezkin (1885-1947) (see "Zhurnaly" Zolotoe runo No.10, 1909, p.67). It is uncertain whether the plan was ever realized. Some of Vashchenko's exhibits at The Impressionists related to Slezkin's publications. Slezkin, who graduated from Petersburg University in 1910, frequently wrote about the decay of society. His first story V volnakh priboya (On the Waves of the Surf) was published in 1907. In 1910 he published two collections of short stories, Kartonnyi korol' [The Cardboard King] and To, chevo my ne uznaem [About that with which we aren't familiar].

115. Vashchenko's sculpture Scythian was owned by Kul'bin.

116. [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov" 12 January 1910.

117. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "U impressionistov II".

118. Ibid.

119. From 1907 Kozlinskii had studied at the School for the Encouragement of the Arts, at Zvantseva's school (under Bakst and Dobuzhinskii) and in the studio of D.N. Kardovskii. In 1911 he became a student of the engraver V.V. Mate, who he was eventually to replace as head of the engraving studio of the State Free Art Studios (which replaced the Academy in 1918).

120. The "Exhibition of Contemporary Painting" was held in two venues in Ekaterinodar from 15 April - 1 May 1912, as part of the "Spring Festival of Art and Music". Kul'bin again gave lectures to accompany the exhibition.

121. Kozlinskii's post-revolutionary posters were published in 1918, together with work by Puni, Boguslavskaya and Makletsov in the album "Geroi i zhertvy revolyutsii". Mayakovsky's poetry was also included in the album which appeared to mark the first

anniversary of the revolution. See E. Kovtun, "V.I. Kozlinskii v gody revolyutsii" Sovetskaya grafika 10. (Moscow) 1986 pp. 198-209.

122. E. Kovtun, "V.I. Kozlinskii v gody revolyutsii", p. 198.

123. See [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov", 8 January 1910, p. 3.

124. Ibid.

125. Kul'bin owned Burlyuk's The Boat and Watermelons.

126. [anon.] "S vystavki impressionistov", 12 January 1910, p. 3.

127. The "First Exhibition of Drawings and Autographs of Russian Writers" contained not only paintings and drawings by writers from the past and present but also their letters and signatures (see Plate 2.16c). These works were seen as "reflections of the personalities of the artists of the word" (Kul'bin, "Treugol'nik" Exhibition Catalogue, 1910). Kul'bin regarded the exhibits as useful in explaining "questions of art", as well as pleasurable works of art in themselves. Concerned with the act of artistic creation generally, he wrote: "The writer, creating a picture from words, experiences an impression (impressio), comparable to that of a painter. He only reflects his experience in words not paint. We are not concerned with the basic difference between the literary and plastic arts." (ibid).

The exhibition consisted to a large extent of items taken from the collections of the poetess G. Shchepkina-Kupernik, the translator F. Fidler, and I. Grinevskaya. Exhibits included two landscapes by the novelist Ieronim Yasinskii (ex. cat.); pencil and pen drawings by the writer P.S. Solov'eva (also known as Allegro); cartoon portraits by Sergei Gorodetskii, pencil drawings by the young poet Dmitrii Tsenzor (who had also studied at the Academy of Arts); the letters of Nemirovich-Danchenko, Chekhov, Pushkin, Lev Tolstoi; a watercolour portrait by Lermontov; pen drawings by Averchenko; and some "stage designs" by Nikolai Evreinov. The latter included a "Slave market with a whole round dance of young naked female figures - one of the best compositions of the whole exhibition" (Breshko-Breshkovskii, "U impressionistov I Komnata pisatelei" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11630, 24 March 1910, pp. 4-5). Other contemporary writers included Andreev, Blok, Bely, Voloshin, Gorky, Ivanov, Kuzmin, Meierkhol'd, Remizov, Slezkin, Aleksei Tolstoi, Chulkov and Khlebnikov. Kul'bin justified the inclusion of non-impressionist writers on the grounds that this was the first such exhibition and the material presented was valuable as a source for comparison.

In fact the inclusion of writers in the exhibition was not limited to this display of drawings and autographs for Sergei Gorodetskii, Evreinov and Kamenskii all appeared in the artists' exhibition.

In addition to the writers' exhibition primitive art was represented by two folk sculptures (Girl with a Dove, from Poltava province, and Harpys: Male and Female Head, from the Novgorod area) from Aleksandr Gorodetskii's collection, and "Two old pictures"

from David Burlyuk's collection (probably signboards). Also shown were the "Systematic School of Modern Japanese Drawing in the Original" (N.N. Tikhanovich's collection) and "Posters of French and Dutch Masters (A.I. Baller's collection)".

128. Union of Russian Artists Exhibition 20 February - 28 March 1910. Exhibitors included Ciurlionis, Gaush, Krymov, Larionov, Lentulov, Matveev, Yakulov, Benois and Petrov-Vodkin.

129. Concerning the dates of the Izdebskii Salon see Footnote 1.

130. The new exhibitors were Afanasieva, Deters, Diderikhs, Dydyshko, Evreinov, Sergei Gorodetskii, Kun, Mazaraki, Rimša, Sabo, Shaub-Zeftigen, Shestopalov, Shiryaev. Of these, little is known about K.I. Mazaraki, Yu.V. Shaub-Zeftigen, Yu.I. Sabo and T.M. Kun and the sculptors L.P. Afanasieva and M.D. Shiryaev, all of whom appear to have been making their exhibiting debut. Afanasieva, who was later to exhibit with the Non-Aligned Society of Artists (1913-1914), contributed four works including Homer Sometimes Nods I and II, a bust and a bas-relief. Shiryaev displayed four pieces (In the Wilderness, Wave-Love, Life and Lady with a Dog). The first of these was a small sculpture depicting two men in conversation, one pointing something out to the other. The coarsely finished Biblical figures are simple and realistic (Plate 2.16a).

Artists who had exhibited with Triangle previously included Baller, who displayed a continued interest in Asian culture with his illustrations to the ancient Hindu epic poem Rāmāyana (he also showed Still-Life and The Vine). Others were: Arionesko-Baller, who contributed a Self-Portrait and Flowers; Blank - one work (The Shore); Vaulin - Eastern Doors; and Baudouin de Courtenay - The Sorrowful Ones, Near Paris in the Spring, In the Garden (Supraporte), The Bathers and The Indian Goddess Lakshmi. A work bearing the same title as the latter was simultaneously exhibited by Baudouin de Courtenay at the Union of Youth's first exhibition (it was also included, together with The Sorrowful Ones, in the Union of Youth's Riga show, and the first Knave of Diamonds exhibition in December 1910).

131. See below, Chapter Three, for a comparison of Kul'bin's ideas with those of Markov.

132. V. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov "Treugol'nik"", Rossiya, No. 1331, 24 March 1910, p. 4.

133. See Chapters Seven and Eight.

134. For a discussion of the subsequent impact of Uspenskii's theory of the fourth dimension on Russian modern art, see L.D. Henderson The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1983.

135. P.D. Uspenkii's Chetvertoe izmerenie, opyt izsledovaniya oblasti neizmerimago was published in St. Petersburg in November 1909.

136. P.D. Uspenskii, Tertium Organum (St. Petersburg) 1911, p. 110.

137. Ibid, p. 331.

138. "Triangle" (the title is given as a triangular symbol), Salon 2 (exhibition catalogue) Odessa, 1910-1911, p. 19.

139. While some of the works are identifiable many are lost, including the intriguingly entitled series Tales: I About Construction, II Blue on White, III By the Pond (Once upon a time), IV The Conversation. Others lost include By the Green Table, A Pea, White on Green, On the Shore and Spring. A considerable number were, however, exhibited again - at Kul'bin's "Modern Painting" exhibition in Ekaterinodar, April 1912, and his one-man show in Petersburg, October 1912.

140. See above and Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Pod misticheskim", 12 March 1909.

141. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov 'Treugol'nik'".

142. N. Evreinov, "Predstavlenie lyubvi" Studiya impressionistov. pp. 49-127.

143. Ibid, p. 51.

144. This closely compares with Wyspiański's conception of theatre (see Footnote 99): "The thought of Wyspiański never expressed itself through words; he did not think in words, he thought with tensions of his will and with emotions expressed in colour, movement and sounds. He thought in theatrical terms." (Stanislaw Brzozowski, quoted in C. Milosz, The History of Polish Literature, (London) 1969, pp. 352-353.

145. Evreinov, "Predstavlenie lyubvi" op. cit., p. 109.

146. Ibid, p. 59.

147. Denisov, "Vystavka Kul'bina" Den' No. 8, 9 October 1912, p. 5.

148. Evreinov, "Predstavlenie lyubvi" op. cit., p. 100.

149. Ibid. opposite p. 112.

150. Ibid, p. 111.

151. Denisov, "Vystavka Kul'bina".

152. Rachmaninov Opus 21, No. 5, April 1902.

153. See above, discussion of Kul'bin's first talk at Vilnius, 9 January 1910.

154. E.L. "Vystavka kartin N.I. Kul'bina" Protiv techeniya, No.1, 20 October 1912, p.5.

155. Denisov, "Vystavka Kul'bina".

156. Ibid.

157. Evreinov, "Predstavlenie lyubvi" op.cit. p.69.

158. Ibid. p.90.

159. L. Shmit-Ryzhova "Vostochnyi motiv" Studiya impressionistov p.27. Another regular participant in the Triangle exhibitions who also contributed to Studiya Impressionistov in the role of a poet was V.I. Nechaev, the blind artist. Unlike Shmit-Ryzhova, however, the link between those paintings shown by Nechaev at the 1910 exhibition and his poetry is unexplicit. His paintings consisted of two works, Excelsior and Architectural Fantasy (Model), while the poem (ibid. p.45), "Pesn' vesne" [Song of Spring], was essentially an onomatopoeical folk prayer to the beauty of spring. Nechaev the poet exults in the colours and joys of spring, as if his senses were unimpaired. Such pantheistic thanksgiving seems to have been common to both his visual and literary art. The almost childish pleasure that is expressed recalls Guro.

160. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov 'Treugol'nik'".

161. Nikolai Nikolaevich Evreinov (1879-1953). Director, playwright, critic, composer and artist. Studied 1902-1905 at the Petersburg Music Conservatory in Rimskii-Korsakov's counterpoint class. Lived in Paris from 1925. Evreinov's association with Kul'bin was to continue until the latter's death and is recorded in Evreinov's subsequent glowing appraisal of Kul'bin in his book Original o portretistakh (1922), and in Kul'bin's illustrations to earlier books on the theatre by Evreinov. From 1908 to 1910 Evreinov advanced his theory of monodrama in lectures and articles (see, for example, Avel' "O 'monodrame' N.N. Evreinova" Utro (St. Petersburg) No.29, 2 January 1909, p.4. His monodrama "Predstavlenie lyubvi", published in Studiya impressionistov, appeared simultaneously with the 1910 Triangle exhibition.

162. Evreinov's Dancing Spanish Woman was published in Stolitsa i usad'ba (St. Petersburg No.9, 1915). It was accompanied by the claim to be the first ever Futurist painting, created before the Italian Futurists began to proclaim dynamic Divisionism. Although there is no evidence that such a work was exhibited prior to its publication it may compare with the sketch of dancers exhibited in the Writers' Exhibition at "The Impressionists" and described by Breshko-Breshkovskii above (Footnote 127).

163. By 1910 Gorodetskii had already published his drawings in poetry miscellanies. His next exhibition appears to have been the 1915 First Salon of Humorists in Petersburg.

164. See above, in the discussion of "The Impressionists" 1909.

165. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "U impressionistov II". It should also be mentioned that Mazaraki's "elegant minions" (Daphnis and Chloe, Salomé and Valkyrie) were noted as having attracted much attention from the visitors (Novaya rus' 103, 15 April, p. 4).

166. Rimša's other work included Moonlit Night, Little Star and The Setting of the Moon. The mysteries of night and death were themes that dominated Rimša's work at this time: he showed Night and The Cemetery at Izdebskii's salon, when it opened in Petersburg, shortly after "The Impressionists" closed, and in Riga. He also showed The Cemetary, Moonlit Night, Golgotha and The Setting of the Moon at Izdebskii's second salon in 1911.

167. Of the three artists Deters had the most exhibiting experience, having participated in all but one of the New Society of Artists exhibitions since 1905. Her contributions to those shows, as to "The Impressionists", consisted of a mixture of paintings and embroidery. Generally she painted flowers and landscapes. "The Impressionists" was probably Deters first show in two years (she had missed the 1909 exhibition of the New Society).

168. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "U impressionistov II".

169. N.I. Shestopalov was to become a regular contributor to the "Spring" Exhibitions at the Academy of Arts and those of the New Society of Artists as well as joining the Non-Aligned Society of Artists in November 1912 (together with Pskovitinov and Vashchenko - two other Triangle exhibitors). Given the artist's prolific participation in exhibitions between 1909 and 1917 it is surprising that no work or contemporary criticism is known.

170. Diderikhs returned to Petersburg, his birthplace, in 1909 after studying in Munich first at the Academy (1905-1908) and then under Anton Ažbé, as well as in Paris under Kees van Dongen (his future wife, Valentina Khodasevich, who was to participate with the Union of Youth in 1913, also studied in Munich and with van Dongen in Paris). His first exhibition upon his return was that of Drawings and Prints in the Academy of Arts (1909-1910). Diderikhs' association with Kul'bin may well have been closer than his one appearance with the Triangle group suggests, since Kul'bin attributed his 1909 discovery of "free music" in part to Diderikhs (as well as to Drozdov and Pyshnov). Later, both artists participated in the exhibition Kul'bin helped organise in aid of the Hospice for Art Workers (Dobychina Bureau, 1914)

171. Following its first salon in 1908, The Golden Fleece journal, devoted considerable space to articles concerned with modern French art, especially Gauguin, Van Gogh and Matisse (see, for example, the issue devoted to French art, Zolotoe runo No. 7-9, 1908). Forty-four works from the second salon were reproduced in Zolotoe runo (No. 2-3, 1909), including Braque's proto-Cubist Le Grand Nu and Still-Life). Furthermore, from 1908 Shchukin added many

Matisses to his collection (including The Game of Bowls and Harmony in Blue), making Matisse the most popular French avant-garde artist in Russia.

172. Concerning the dates of the Izdebskii salon see Footnote 1. French exhibitors also included Bonnard, Gleizes, Denis, Laurencin, Metzinger, Manguin, Rousseau, Rouault, Redon, Signac and Le Fauconnier.

173. David Burlyuk contributed The City of Kherson and Kherson Port to the Triangle section. A work with the title Kherson Port was reproduced in Ves' mir (No. 7, March 1910, p. 6, Plate 2. 16b), although it is given as Vladimir Burlyuk's and part of the Wreath section. This attribution is doubtful as Vladimir Burlyuk, nor any other artist, is recorded as giving any such work to Wreath. The work itself has a peaceful harmony in the still waters and unmoving sailboats, drawn with a Chinese laconism of line and form.

174. Chetyreugol'nik, "Osel'-khudozhnik" Novoe vremya No. 12228, 28 March 1910.

175. A. Rostislavov, "Svezhie buri" Teatr i iskusstvo No. 14, April 1910, p. 297.

176. It should be noted here that Matyushin and Ekster contributed various untitled studies, the form of which is unknown. Kamenskii, exhibited a brightly coloured Pointillist work, The Peahen Khovstava (for Nursery amusement) (Cat. 252, Plates 2. 16b and 2. 26), depicting a peahen resting proudly in the branches of a tree. The decorative, feminine motif and dotted stroke bear resemblance to that of Shmit-Ryzhova, although Kamenskii adds a child-like simplicity and unmixed colour to the flat objects of his composition.

177. Sadok Sudei (St. Petersburg, 1910). Contributors included Kamenskii, Khlebnikov, Matyushin, Guro, Nizen, the Burlyuks, Aleksandr Gorodetskii. Printed on the back of cheap wallpaper in order to shock. Guro's six entries were dominated by symbolism and a preoccupation with an atmosphere of childhood - objects were animated and infantile neologisms used.

178. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Inv. No. Zh1458. There is a photo of Matyushin and Guro sitting underneath the painting (see Kharzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda (unpaginated)). Matyushin donated it to the Russian Museum in 1933.

179. Not least Aleksandr Gorodetskii and Rostislav Voinov - see Footnotes 92 and 127.

180. Mikhnevich had previously contributed a series of studies and landscapes to Izdebskii's first salon. The titles of the eight works she exhibited with Wreath at "The Impressionists" included Interior, Flowers in a Jug, Portrait and Summer Sunset - Flowerbed.

181. J. Bowlt (in B. Livshits The One and a Half Eyed Archer (Newtonville) 1977, p.67) gives the artist the name Petr Timofeyevich Kovalenko, and the birthdate of 1888, but the exhibition catalogue refers to him as Pavel and Livshits remembers him as "a bearded man, not young" ibid. p.53). Kovalenko's only other exhibition seems to have been the second Izdebskii salon, where he displayed two works (Estate and Fishing). Livshits claims to have seen Kovalenko's work at the last Union of Youth exhibition, but this is unsupported by the catalogue and reviews.

182. Ibid. p.53.

183. Dydyshko was born near Kaunas, Lithuania. Died in Copenhagen. Graduated from the Tbilisi Infantry Cadet Institute 1904. Studied at Tbilisi Art Institute (early 1900s), then in the Munich studios of von Stück and Ažbé (1905). Studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts 1905 - 1912, first under Kardovskii, later under Dubovskoi. Graduated in 1912 and received the title of "teacher of drawing" in 1916. Travelled much in Europe 1906-1913 (including Italy, France, Spain). Dydyshko's first show had been the 1909 Spring Exhibition of the Moscow College of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. Subsequently a regular contributor to Union of Youth exhibitions (see, Chapter Eight, in particular) and thereafter the World of Art. Lived in Copenhagen from 1929.

184. Yanchevetskii, "Vystavka impressionistov 'Treugol'nik'".

185. N.I. Kul'bin, "Novyya techeniya v iskusstve" op.cit., p.40.

CHAPTER THREE: THE UNION OF YOUTH: ITS FOUNDING, FIRST TWO EXHIBITIONS AND VLADIMIR MARKOV

The Founding of the Union of Youth

Kul'bin developed his ideas at a time of great political and social unrest in Russia.[1] It was inevitable that these events affected the way artists looked at the world and at their art. Many chose to avoid the unhappy conditions and rapid industrialisation around them. By 1910, Borisov-Musatov, after retreating to the dreamy, deserted parks of Zubrilovka and then Tarusa, was five years dead, Kuznetsov had fled to the simplicity of the Kirghiz steppe and Vrubel was spending his last months in a mental asylum. Others, especially young and impressionable artists arriving in Moscow or Petersburg from the provinces, sought to reject that which they saw around them through confrontation.

The plastic arts had already developed away from the elegant retrospections of the World of Art: Vrubel and the Saratov artists (e.g. Borisov-Musatov, Kuznetsov, Utkin) had stimulated a new perception of the formal aspects of art. Symbolism combined with impressionism as art, still representational, became more introspective and subjective. Metaphysical implication, morbidity and deformation became regular attributes of painting. The rejection of external appearances fused with the search for novelty and a modern aesthetic. Other cultures were scrutinized for new artistic values.

With this process art was freed from the need to represent physical nature or observe academic convention. The Neo-

Primitivists, led by Larionov, Goncharova and the Burlyuks, disillusioned with symbolism, sought more vigorous and immediate sources of inspiration, and they found them in primitive art forms, including Russian folk arts and crafts. Developments in France and Germany were crucial. Many younger Russian artists, including the Burlyuks, Larionov, Dydyshko and Shleifer, had studied in Paris and Munich. Others had readily absorbed the works of Cézanne, Gauguin, Rousseau, the Fauves and finally Picasso and Le Fauconnier brought to Russia by Morozov, Shchukin, Ryabushinskii and Izdebskii.[2]

Fauvist technique, first seen at the Golden Fleece salons of 1908 and 1909, especially the bright colour, abandonment of linear perspective and emphasis on expressive brushstrokes, was quickly adopted by Moscow artists. These Fauvist borrowings first appeared at the 1909 Wreath-Stefanos exhibition and the third Golden Fleece salon (January 1910). Larionov, after copying the expressive impasto brushwork of Van Gogh and Post-Impressionism in works such as Fish at Sunset (1905-1906, Russian Museum), as well as Gauguin's use of colour and composition (e.g. Donkeys and Pigs, 1909-1910, Russian Museum), began to concentrate on domestic arts as stimuli for his work. He, together with Goncharova and the Burlyuks, exploited the unconventional stylistic devices found in the lubok, the hand-painted tray, provincial toys and whistles, the signboard and the icon. From these they borrowed vivid colour; emphatic lines; flat figures; inverted perspective; use of script; stylized and schematic decorative elements. Nor were they afraid to transfer motifs from one medium to another, e.g. forms derived from sculpture and embroidery began to appear in painting.

In Petersburg, symbolist and psychological-impressionist styles, seen in the work of Kul'bin, Kalmakov, Baller, Yakulov, Čiurlionis and Petrov-Vodkin at the shows of Triangle, the Union of Russian Artists, the New Society of Artists and the Autumn exhibitions, were the dominant avant-garde trends until 1910. Kul'bin's appearance on the Petersburg art scene in 1908, together with the Wreath exhibitions, had been the first sign of changes to come. Kul'bin encouraged "free art" and at his exhibitions signboards and autographs were shown alongside works of fantastic symbolism[3]; Vaulin's Abramstevo-inspired use of folk motifs in his decorative applied art was seen together with Kalmakov's *art nouveau*; and Nikolaev's 'synaesthetic' painting combined with Kul'bin's and Baranov's Pointillism, Spandikov's 'decadence' and Guro's 'naive' impressionism. Against this background the Union of Youth was founded.

A small article published on 8 January 1910, was the first to appear about the Union of Youth, and succinctly described the impulses behind its formation and the environment in which it developed:

> "The Union of Youth"
> This is the name for an enterprise of a group of artists that deserves sympathetic attention. Taking into consideration the difficult contemporary situation for artists, especially the artistic youth, due to undoubted over-production, an abundance of exhibitions, the closed nature of societies, the detachment and solitude of artists, all of which make it difficult for new artists to show their skill, the 'Union' aims to organise its own centre. This will be something like a museum-club, where links can be established, artists can become acquainted, and where most importantly, they can get to know each other's work, can listen attentively and freely to arguments and thus new talents can be revealed.
> Here the main aim is not the organisation of exhibitions, which will occur later as a result of the group's essence becoming clear. Rather, it is to allow the possibility of

> self-examination, free searching, and the elucidation of new paths. What is actually desirable here is a certain crystallization that is more or less clearly promoted, a new sense of individuality or a new common movement. The idea is new and interesting. As a rule exhibiting societies and groups are phenomena which are often independent of inner necessity, become burdened by their productivity, and sometimes by a dilletanti character.[4]

In fact, the group had been in existence, at least loosely, for some eight months and their first exhibition was already being planned by the time of this article. Even so, its text is highly revealing, for the crystallisation described as highly desirable was to be felt in the next four years not only in the exhibitions of the group, but also in their publications, theatrical productions and public debates, as well as in the individuals who emerged as leaders. The first public evidence of such a crystallization were the exhibitions organised in 1910 and the "manifesto" written by Markov (the pseudonym of Voldemārs Matvejs).[5] This chapter seeks to trace the developments of the first year of the Union of Youth's existence.

Rostislavov provides several important hints about the identity of the Union of Youth and the initial feelings that had provoked the artists to form the group. The lack of preconceived direction, other than a desire for the new and essential, was highly influential upon the way the group developed over the next four years. However, sources considered below reveal that a direction was already emerging and the crystallization of ideas was already under way by January 1910: arguments led to the resignation of some artists; paintings were selected for exhibition; regulations, including a statement of aims, were prepared for

presentation to the city governor.

Rostislavov emphasises that members felt that their aim was to search freely for the new - looking within (to the psyche and emotions - the personal and group experiences), rather than only outside (to visual reality and the public). This aspiration coincides with Kul'bin's idea that the new art was to be based upon inner experience and experiment. But whereas Kul'bin sought to free form, colour and content without restriction, the Union of Youth, while rejecting academic tradition, sought a specific replacement for old methods. This led to dissensions within the group about the nature of the new art. Although the group generally maintained a tolerant attitude towards style, a gradual evolution did take place which allowed distinctive characteristics to emerge. The very process of gradually determining identity was something new in Russian art: for the first time a group had been set up which had no fixed aim, no apparent identity. The organisation of the group came first, the aims were gradually established and open to change: discussion, the exchange of ideas and growth were fundamental.

One of the earliest surviving documents concerning the existence of the group is an undated application, presumably to the city governor's office, requesting permission to form the "Union of Youth".[6] Headed by the names of Spandikov, Matyushin and Voinov[7], this handwritten document states that the "aim of the society is to study the problems of modern art and organise exhibitions".[8] This application was probably written around the same time as the earliest dated Union of Youth document - minutes of a committee

meeting on 8 November 1909.[9] The latter is concerned with the organisation of an exhibition and lists as members: Matyushin, Guro, Spandikov, Voinov, Shkol'nik, Bystrenin, Shleifer, Gaush and Evseev.

Many meetings followed in quick succession during November 1909. Levkii Ivanovich Zheverzheev was invited to participate in the group's activities.[10] This implies that he was not one of the initiators of the Union of Youth, but among the first to join it. An art and music evening was planned to raise funds but whether this materialised and what form it took is unknown.[11] A studio was sought - Matyushin and Voinov were to ask Mostova for premises, while Shkol'nik was to approach the artist Veshchilov.[12]

However, by 2 January 1910 tension had arisen between the founders and an argument ensued between Shkol'nik, Voinov and Matyushin concerning the membership rules that had been drawn up.[13] There was a definite rift in the committee, even before the group had been officially registered. At the meeting on 6 January 1910, Matyushin and Voinov refused to sign the draft regulations: "Both expressed the idea that they saw a different direction ahead to the one proposed by the current work, and that they felt idealogically at variance with the group."[14] Thus Spandikov, Zheverzheev and Bystrenin became the signatories and within two days Matyushin and Voinov had resigned from the committee and, together with Guro, soon ceased all participation in the group's activities.[15]

The minutes of the meeting on 8 January 1910, the same day as Rostislavov's article appeared, note that "In view of several fundamental differences of opinion the committee considered it

necessary to make their programme more definite."[16] This suggests that while diversity was possible, the group also recognised the need for a certain control and sense of direction. With the withdrawal of Guro, Matyushin and Voinov it was Markov's presence that proved one of the most important factors in establishing this. Although Markov's name does not appear in the list of members on 8 January (L'vov, Verkhovskii, Zheverzheev, Mostova and Baudouin de Courtenay were the new names) he must have joined the society shortly after the meeting. A Latvian artist and student at the Petersburg Academy, Markov brought with him a lot of fresh ideas and enthusiasm that were to penetrate the group extremely quickly and to lead to a more defined programme.

On 29 January 1910 the draft regulations for the group were sent to the city governor.[17] By 16 February these regulations had been authorized and the "Union of Youth" placed on the register of Petersburg societies (No.503).[18]

A series of letters from Matyushin to Shkol'nik, written in January and February 1910, confirm the tension in the group with regard to an argument with Mostova over the use of her studio, and a demand by Matyushin for expenses.[19] Whatever the causes of the unease, on 19 January Matyushin requested that the membership fees paid by himself and Guro, be returned.[20] The wrangling over money and the dispute over Mostova's studio continued. On 5 February Matyushin, feeling insulted by the group generally, expressed his disappointment, and asserted that "nobody did as much for the Union of Youth as me".[21] He added that henceforth he distanced himself from its activities. However, by the end of 1912 he had rejoined

the society and was to play an active role in its final year.

In his last letter, amongst his pernickety calculations for financial repayment, Matyushin gave the founding of the group as April 1909.[22] This is the only documentary evidence of the date of original inception of the Union of Youth. Significantly, it coincides with "The Impressionists" second exhibition to which Guro, Matyushin, Mostova, Spandikov, Bystrenin, Gaush, Shleifer and Shkol'nik, that is, the initiators of the Union of Youth, contributed. Furthermore, early Union of Youth associates such as Baudouin de Courtenay, Mitel'man, the Ballers, Vaulin, Sagaidachnyi were also represented at the show. It seems likely that Kul'bin's enterprise brought most of these artists together for the first time, and that they then split from Kul'bin in order to establish their own group with independent aims. The vast majority of these artists did not appear in "The Impressionists" Vilnius exhibition of December 1909 or the final Triangle show, although by March 1910, Matyushin and Guro, had left the Union of Youth and reappeared with Kul'bin as exhibitors in the Wreath section.

The primary reasons for the break with Kul'bin cannot be conclusively established as precise differences in aesthetic idealogy or personality are not documented. Indeed, the original conception of the Union of Youth is totally unrecorded.[23] Clearly, a split occurred: the Union of Youth artists left Kul'bin and Kul'bin never participated in the Union of Youth. Matyushin later claimed that he and Guro rejected Kul'bin's group because they were simply feeble imitators of Vrubel, and that the lack of talent in Triangle was extremely irritating.[24] Whatever the accuracy of this

statement, it suggests that the split occurred not because a set of artists initially had a positive alternative, but simply because they considered themselves better, or at least different and they felt that the way ahead would become clear outside the restrictive confines of Triangle.

The membership rules drawn up by the Union of Youth in early 1910 included the following points: prospective members were to show examples of their work in the group's studio for one week, provided that at least one member agreed to it. After the week, the work would be assessed by all members of the Union of Youth and if more than half voted in favour, the artist would be accepted as a member. Artists whom the committee members wanted to be members, could simply be invited to join and as long as they sent some work to the committee and paid the fee they would be accepted.[25] In this way, the group could control the general direction it took, without placing impossible barriers in the way of new artists seeking to join. There was no demand for individual artists to adopt a particular approach. This lack of specific aesthetic criteria for membership was not very different from Kul'bin's approach, and was crucial to the initial identity of the group.

A supportive article in the conservative newspaper Petersburgskaya Gazeta appeared precisely at this time. It highlighted the plight and complaints of young artists: "Nowhere in the world do so many barriers stand in the path to fame for young artists, as they do here."[26] The article emphasized the difficulties of joining an art society (whatever the quality of the artist's paintings) and of participating in society exhibitions,

while members could exhibit as much "rubbish" as they liked without it going before a panel of judges; and how full societies are of well known artists who dislike anyone following a different line. The article seems to be a cloaked demand for the setting up of the Union of Youth or a similar group. The Union of Youth's rules imply a direct response to this situation and, in practice, as many non-members as members took part in their exhibitions. Nevertheless no underlining aesthetic had been established. In fact, it was not until Markov's manifesto/article of the summer 1910[27], and the 'Credo' published in March 1913[28], that the original liberal attitude could be seen to be moulded into a specific direction.

The success of the Union of Youth's approach is reflected in the novelty and diversity of its exhibitions and innovative stage events. Furthermore, following hard upon its footsteps, a number of other, usually short-lived, art groups emerged in the Russian capitals. Thus the whole dynamic of the art situation was changed. Kul'bin's Triangle disappeared, but was replaced by societies such as the Petersburg Association of Independents[29], the Non-Aligned Society of Artists[30], the Arts Association[31] and the revitalised World of Art.[32] These, together with the Dobychina Art Bureau[33], which opened in 1912, offered new opportunities to young, inexperienced artists in Petersburg. They were complemented in Moscow by the emergence, from 1910 onwards, of such groups as the Moscow Salon[34], Free Art[35], Free Creativity[36], the Knave of Diamonds[37] and Donkey's Tail.[38] Links between these groups and the Union of Youth, both direct and indirect, are examined below.

The first phrase of the first clause in the Union of Youth's Regulations implies a revisionary, rather than revolutionary, approach to art:

> The Society of Artists 'The Union of Youth' has the aim of familiarizing its members with modern trends in art; of developing their aesthetic tastes by means of drawing and painting workshops, as well as discussions on questions of art; and of furthering the mutual rapprochement of people interested in art.[99]

There is no insistance that the members must follow modern trends in art - simply that they should become aware of them. The use of art workshops for learning emphasises the open outlook of the group. Indeed, the emphasis is on the integration of attitudes. While this may have been a precautionary step, since the regulations required official approval, it appears that the "avant-garde" ambition of the group was muted at this stage.

If Clause One stated <u>what</u> the Union of Youth hoped to achieve, Clause Two outlined <u>how</u>. It listed a whole range of activities from evenings of communal drawing and discussion in the studio to exhibitions, musical evenings, dramatic productions, auctions, public debates, competitions, publications, and talks with museum workers. Evidently, the Union of Youth was intended to be much more than an exhibiting society and no field of art was to be ignored.

The First Union of Youth Exhibition 8 March - 11 April 1910

Despite the range of activities envisaged by the Union of Youth, exhibitions played an essential role in defining its identity. Preparations for the first were under way by the autumn of 1909. A draft copy of the regulations gave members the right to "exhibit their works at the society's exhibitions without having them judged by a jury, and in any quantity."[40] Furthermore, any artists sympathetic to the group could be invited to participate and others could send their work to be judged by a jury. All these points were omitted in the published regulations which, perhaps bearing in mind the ideas expressed earlier in the Petersburgskaya Gazeta, makes no mention at all of a panel of judges or the quantity of works permitted. It seems that a rather informal attitude prevailed, making it possible for a large number of 'sympathetic' non-member exhibitors to take part and this had a significant impact on the character of the group's exhibitions.

An article about the Union of Youth, published just ten days after the regulations had been approved, stated:

> ...the circle of young artists has actively set to work. They have taken a studio (Zamyatin Lane No.3 flat 8) where twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the artists meet, study drawing and discuss their work. Although this circle, which at the moment consists of fifteen artists, has only recently started to function, by means of highly serious communal discussion of their works and the unity of direction, for which they are being organised, it appears that the 'union' could come forward and open their exhibition in the first week of Lent. This exhibition will allow the circle to plan its future activities.[41]

Although the stress is again on communal discussion dictating direction, exhibitions are given a definite place in helping to establish this direction. This idea was more clearly developed in

another article a week later:

> By means of the communal discussions the individual aspects of each artist will be identified and the artistic aims that they will pursue will be planned. But true success in the fulfilment of their aims is unthinkable without criticism, and taking this into consideration the Union has decided to exhibit its work.[42]

Here for the first time the individuality of artists finds its place - as a goal for definition through the group's common activities. The desire to react to criticism positively - to be open to influence in order to learn and create - meant that the group could change and develop. Such vitality made the Union of Youth one of the leading groups of avant-garde artists in Russia. Rostislavov was right when he pointed out, after the exhibition had opened, that "the original idea of this Union was different: exhibitions were to be the result of mutual achievement and communal discussions... Nevertheless this appearance now seems legitimate."[43]

As early as mid-February Markov was involved in the organisation of the exhibition and was dispatched to Moscow to collect works from various artists, as shown by his letter to the group leaders:

> .... I'm running all around Moscow. I was at Zel'manova's, upon whom I called about five times - there was nothing. No works at all. All the same I took two small things from her.
> I was at Mashkov's. Took one work.
> Larionov isn't giving what I would like, but is imposing his own choice. If I do take any of these, I do so without any responsibility on my part. But as regards his wooden sculpture - I have taken two small but interesting works. The most interesting work that I've so far come across is that of Goncharova. She has still not exhibited in Petersburg. I'm taking two paintings and two triptychs - eight works in all.
> At Sar'yan's there was nothing to take.
> The same at Utkin's.

> I did visit someone else but can't remember who.
> I'm going to see your Verner...
> The Golden Fleece has ceased its existence. Ryabushinskii has gone bankrupt. And so I won't go there for works, although I'll ask Larionov.
> Let me have Burlyuk's address, someone is asking for it...[44]

This letter accounts for the selection of works by the Moscow contributors to the exhibition and places a lot of the responsibility for that selection with Markov and Larionov. Certainly, Markov appears to be invested with the power to invite those artists he deemed suitable and bring those works he found appropriate.

By 27 February 1910 Markov wrote to Shkol'nik saying that the packing of works was under way, although it was being delayed because of the holiday.[45] He had some "very beautiful works" but they would only arrive in Petersburg early in the morning on Sunday or Monday. This presumably means the following week (i.e. 7/8 March) as any earlier and Shkol'nik would not have received the card in time. Indeed Markov added: "I shall take the works straight to the exhibition. Give the order that they let me in when I arrive with the box. Forewarn the porter." The exhibition opened on 8 March, so the works from Moscow had little time to be judged by an exhibition committee. Markov's selection, therefore, was crucial in determining the composition of the exhibition.

It is not known what criteria Markov used to make his selection in Moscow, but it is interesting that while he was away the following appeared concerning the Union of Youth exhibition:

> ... Each member has the right to show at the exhibition all the works he finds it necessary to exhibit. As regards exhibitors, those represented will have their works determined by selection. A large number of paintings of the latter have been offered to the society and (a small number) of these,

> works close in ideas to the aims of the 'Union' have been accepted. The vast majority of members exhibit their works for the first time.[46]

This sounds very like the methods of societies criticised earlier in the Peterburgskaya Gazeta. The resemblance, however, is spurious for in actuality the selection procedure, as has been shown, was lenient with the rules and the non-member artists, who numbered ten out of a total of twenty-five exhibitors, contributed well over a third of the two hundred and twenty-eight works shown.

The first Union of Youth exhibition opened in an empty apartment on the corner of Morskaya and Gorokhovaya Streets on 8 March 1910. Notably absent were Matyushin, Guro, Voinov and Mostova. Besides the five Moscow exhibitors brought by Markov, the other non-members were probably Afanas'ev-Kokel, Ukhanova (both students at the Academy, the latter a friend of Markov's), Nalepinskaya, Mitrokhin and Vaulin. None of these seem to have had any connection with the Union of Youth after the summer exhibition in Riga, and, with the exception of Vaulin, none exhibited more than four works. This leaves the members of the group at this stage as: Bystrenin, Baudouin de Courtenay, Verkhovskii, Gaush, Zheverzheev, L'vov, Markov, Nagubnikov, Spandikov, Severin, Evseev, Filonov, Sagaidachnyi, Shkol'nik and Shleifer. Of these, at least nine had studied or were studying at the Petersburg Academy. Their exhibiting experience was slight. Although only nine artists were making their debut, the majority had appeared in just one or two shows with Triangle or another group. The only "established" artists were Gaush, Bystrenin and Larionov.[47]

The Exhibits

The vast majority of works in the exhibition consisted of paintings and sketches, although there were some etchings by Bystrenin, theatrical designss by Evseev, embroidery by Zheverzheev, Persian and Indian-style tiles, vases and a caché-pot by Vaulin, and two sculptures by Larionov.[48] Most of the exhibits have disappeared, yet it is possible to construct a picture of the exhibition from surviving works and contemporary reviews. Many critics recognised an aesthetic distinction between the Moscow and Petersburg contributions. The Golden Fleece correspondent favoured the work by his local Moscow artists, but found the exhibition "slipshod" and "a sticky bog of baseless daubs and feeble lines, a dirty celebration of the canvas and colour over and above the intentions of the artists".[49] Dubl'-ve, while focusing on the Muscovites, was even more scathing: "There are no pictures in the exhibition... The works on the wall are so disgustingly ugly and pitifully weak that even those with perverted taste and a sick idea of beauty turn away with a bitter grimace".[50] Breshko-Breshkovskii supported the Petersburg artists but his attention was primarily caught by the Muscovites:

> If you like a quick change of impressions, so that happy, impetuous laughter changes to curious attention and *vice versa*, then go to this exhibition...[in] the very last room... are the Muscovites... the remains, or... scraps of the lost Golden Fleece.[51]

Yanchevetskii had similar reservations and only excepted Shkol'nik, Filonov and Spandikov from his judgement that "The Union of Youth say nothing with their heart or head, and only arouse a feeling of protest."[52]

Both Simonovich and Rostislavov found the Union of Youth's exhibition similar to that of Triangle. However, they reached widely varying conclusions about the exhibitions. Simonovich wrote:

> Here, in the majority of cases, there is only unbridled dilletantism. And it is difficult to distinguish where inability mascarading as primitivism ends and where a real fatigue with the aesthetic connoisseurship of recent times, a striving through the guts of primitivism to new, solid and monumental, if also coarse, form, begins.[53]

Rostislavov was more optimistic. Of all the critics, he alone sensed the Union of Youth's potential to usher in a new era. While recognising that it was "difficult to see firm foundations leading to a new canon" in the exhibits, he noted that "successes exist" and that "the attractive freshness of new currents is felt".[54] He found the "majority of artists of both of our left exhibitions - unquestionably gifted painters"[55], indebted to the colour syntheses created by Cézanne, Gauguin and, more recently, Matisse. At the same time, he felt that "the synthesis goes deeper, to a new psychology, expressed in new forms".[56]

As the critics noted, the Moscow and Petersburg contributions to the exhibition were marked by different approaches. In many respects this distinction was similar to that seen between Triangle and Wreath; the Muscovites having assimilated and exploited recent developments in French art to a far greater extent, while the Petersburgers continued with a mixture of idealistic and realistic symbolism, akin to the literary movements, and based on the experiments of Vrubel, Borisov-Musatov and Kuznetsov. So, while mythology was present in Bystrenin's Pandora, Filonov's Samson,

Baudouin de Courtenay's Piéta, Ukhanova's Christ and the Sinner and Markov's Golgotha. Maeterlinckian motifs and atmospheric, poetical images were represented in Evseev's Mélisande's Tomb[57], Shleifer's Peacocks[58], Spandikov's Souls of the Dead and Shkol'nik's Twilight. Yet there were exceptions to the rule, not least in the impressionistic work of Gaush and the "Post-Impressionism" of L'vov, Nagubnikov and Severin.[59] As a result, the eclectic nature of the Petersburg contributions defies rigid classification.

Shkol'nik's work was reviewed for the first time, and the comments made are revealing as to his early style. His titles, which included various atmospheric times of day and Finnish landscapes, differed little from those exhibited with Triangle e.g. Twilight, Evening, Night, Saiima Lake, After the Rain. Breshko-Breshkovskii noted Shkol'nik's lyrical symbolism:

> There is a soft, mystical poetry in Shkol'nik's landscapes. Something delicate in his transparent and faded tones. These are fantastic valleys, with thick twilight and bright spots of gigantic flowers. These are fragile little trees drooping under the rain. This is the dreamy-sullen Finnish nature. All of which expresses a modest and meditative searching.[60]

In addition, Yanchevetskii found that "Shkol'nik's landscapes have beautiful, airy colours"[61] and Rostislavov suggested an impressionistic approach to nature, if a lack of spontaneity: "There seem to be echoes of Levitan in Shkol'nik's slightly affected melancholy e.g. in Grey Day, Saiima Lake, Autumn Study and After the Rain."[62] Clearly, he studied nature in an attempt to express mood, remaining, despite some distortions of form and colours essentially a realistic symbolist.

Besides the hint of Levitan, Shkol'nik's work was not compared

to that of others and so it is difficult to say how much he had in common with exhibitors whose work was not reviewed, but whose motifs were not dissimilar (e.g. Shleifer, who showed Lilac, The Fontanka, Spring, Peacocks and three portraits, including one of Shkol'nik). Nor can it be adjudged how much he was indebted to artists such as the Saratov symbolists, with whom he appears to have much in common.

Bystrenin, at thirty-eight the most senior and distinguished artist of the group, imitated classical Egyptian themes and forms in his graphic art. In 1898 he had joined V.V. Mate's engraving studio[63] at the Petersburg Academy and from that time on his principal interest lay in etching (Plate 3.1). It is therefore no surprise that five of his six contributions to the exhibition were etchings. After graduating from the Academy in 1902 Bystrenin revealed his talent as an engraver in "picturesque and lyrical"[64] landscape studies, where he "brilliantly"[65] explored the inter-relations of light and shade, and in his more experimental use of aluminium (a technique he called "algraphy").[66] Breshko-Breshkovskii, who had been impressed by Shmit-Ryzhova's and Kalmakov's symbolist interpretation of classical mythology at "The Impressionists" the previous year, found Bystrenin's work, while still indebted to Vrubel, even stronger:

> The gems of the exhibition belong to the etcher-graphic artist Bystrenin. He is an artist about whom nothing is heard and yet what a great artist! Those like him, that is graphic artists with such a fine conception of form, number no more than five or six in Russia. No material or media stop him. Pencil, charcoal, watercolour brushes, needles - all are equally subservient to the skill of his golden fingers. Here is someone capable of penetrating to ancient epochs of ancient worlds. If you need a complex drawing reproducing a religious procession in ancient Egypt, Bystrenin will go to an academic

> library, glance through fine art publications and sketch female headgear, pleats of drapes and corners of temples. And when all the drawings are ready one can only exclaim in astonishment. Life, epochs, types and figures all gush forth from every line. As if the man spent ten years of his life studying ancient Egypt.
> At the exhibition one should note The Little Head, the wonderful drawing Palladium and the sketch Pandora, so powerful in colour that they compete with Vrubel's best.[67]

Despite such glowing praise, Bystrenin's exhibits lacked the originality and experimentation to be considered a major contribution to the nascent avant-garde. While his use of motifs extracted from the ancient world was in keeping with the resurgence of interest in other cultures, it appears that he sought primarily to echo and recreate the aura of those cultures, rather than to exploit and transform them for specific pictorial purposes.

The debt to Vrubel, indeed his legacy in the work of this younger generation of artists, did not go unnoticed by the artists themselves. While their exhibition was in progress, Vrubel's death was announced.[68] The Union of Youth artists felt strong enough about this to write a communal letter to the press:

> M. A. Vrubel is dead.
> As an artist and creator Vrubel died long ago, but his significance for art will never die.
> Not knowing any better means by which, at the moment, his memory may be immortalised, we offer the enclosed, with all the strength of a mite, for the organization of an exhibition of the work of this artistic genius, in the hope that society will respond to this call.
> Enclosed is 25 roubles.
> The Society of Artists 'The Union of Youth'.[69]

Clearly, in early 1910, respect for Vrubel's innovations was high in the Union of Youth. In expressing the value they placed on his art, the group suggested the debt they owed him as one of the great initiators of the modern movement in Russian art. Three years

later, however, there was no mention of such a mentor in the group's publications, and even denials of his worth at their lectures.[70]

At the Union of Youth's first show the potential of Vrubel's influence was most strikingly felt in the exhibits by Pavel Nikolaevich Filonov (1883-1941).[71] Four out of five of Filonov's works were simply recorded as drawings and sketches in the catalogue. Contemporary descriptions alone give important indications of their form:

> Filonov has shown himself to be an undeniably original and talented artist. In his small drawings and the painting Samson [cat. 186] there is an interesting, beautifully melodic line and a strange purely Eastern sense of the fantastic, reminiscent of the vision of a stupefied opium-smoker.[72]

Further: "... thoroughly exquisite works like the small, almost jewel-like works of Filonov have such taste in the brightly painted, rather Vrubelesque tones..."[73] This allows that Filonov's work contained the germs of his analytical art as early as 1910, when he was still a student at the Academy of Arts. Even these scant descriptions convey the sense of Filonov's unique concentration, and facetting, of form (soon to be effectively expressed in Man and Woman (1912-1913), The Feast of Kings (1912), and Horsemen (1913)).[74]

The reference to the visions of an opium smoker suggests an interpretation of the world based on altered states of consciousness, not on optical reality. This expression of inner experience, with its subjective worldview, relates to Kul'bin's ideas about art as an intuitive reflection of the artist's "feeling, will and consciousness".[75] The bright intricacy and

suggested movement of the works, combined with a sense of the mystical east, tempts comparison with the symbolism of Shmit-Ryzhova or Kalmakov, although the concentrated form of Filonov's work implies a distinct approach. However, Filonov's originality, seen in further contributions to the Union of Youth, was only just beginning to assert itself. As yet there is no mention of the geometrization and simplification of form in his primitivist or analytical works, and the critics found no comparison with the more radical Moscow artists at the exhibition.

Sophia Ivanovna Baudouin de Courtenay, one of only three artists to appear at both this exhibition and the simultaneous "Impressionists"[76], also showed a concern for mythology and the East. Like Filonov and Bystrenin, Baudouin de Courtenay incorporated her artistic worldview in that of archaic cultures:

> You might not agree with her technique, but one divines undoubted penetration in reconstructing forgotten cultures and forgotten peoples from the depths of the ages. These are the brown, stretched figures, both naive and schematic, in the Sketch of a Freize [cat. 18]. In order that the viewer 'believes' in them he must be able to think and he must be able to create. But you do 'believe' in them.[77]

From this it is clear that Baudouin de Courtenay had turned to a concern with primitive forms. However, by "reconstructing forgotten cultures", the artist retained both the semantic and representational value deliberately abandoned by Larionov in his Neo-Primitivist extrapolation of stylistic device for its own sake. The schematic nature of her work tells of her relationship with Kul'bin. The terrifying forms of the previous year have been replaced by more subdued, if occasionally awe-inspiring, subject matter (titles included Lakshmi, the Hindu Goddess of Beauty[78], In

Front of the Mirror, Sleeping Girl, After the Rain and Piéta).[79]

This cultural searching for expressive form was present, to varying degrees, in the work of several other Union of Youth artists. Sagaidachnyi's exhibits, Happiness in Crime, Medallion, Venice and At Dawn, were described as "beautiful, decorative works"[80] deeply influenced by a study of ancient icons. Similarly Markov's exhibits reflected his study of the Italian primitives (he had travelled through Italy the previous summer).[81] While his works and ideas are studied in detail below, it is worth noting here the variety of interests found in the small paintings he showed at this exhibition. Unlike Bystrenin or Baudouin de Courtenay, Markov was not concerned with the recreation of epochs. This he was to make clear in his writings. Instead he sought to utilize motifs and techniques for his own pictorial purposes - be they primarily symbolist (e.g. Golgotha, Peace); or non-specified formal and colorist concerns (e.g. Yellow on Yellow, Evening, Hare, Servant Girl, Siena). At least in one instance his experimentation was regarded as too excessive:

> Matvei's [Markov's] foggy composition, The Torture of the Saviour, was censored. A group of people and horsemen. The tormented Christ has fallen. Blows are struck upon him. A theme, so to speak, for a museum. Paintings with such subject matter have been created by Rubens (Kushelev Gallery), and our own Egorov (The Russian Museum). All the same, they took Matvei's painting away.[82]

Spandikov's choice of subject matter, colour and form, was more varied than previously, although he still avoided the interest in mythology and the East common to many of his colleagues (titles included Laughter and Sorrow, In the Morning, Motif from Colours, The Dancers, The Greenhouse and Portrait of I.S. Sh[kol'nik]).

However, he still persisted with a sketch-like quality to some of his works and Rostislavov noted a "refined decadence, not without an affectedness".[83] Yanchevetskii found a visionary symbolism in his work: "Spandikov's sketches are fantastic and not devoid of a certain gracefulness of colour. They are original, especially his Souls of the Dead, which are mysteriously represented in the forms of fabulous birds."[84]

Remaining exhibitors from Petersburg (e.g. Gaush, L'vov, Nagubnikov and Verkhovskii) appear more conservative in their pictorial solutions and on the whole they gained critical respect for their less adventurous but talented work.[85] One of the founders of the Union of Youth, Aleksandr Fedorovich Gaush (1873-1947) had studied at the Petersburg Academy from 1893-99.[86] His landscapes are essentially impressionistic. Although he showed just one work (Autumn) at the first show, at the group's Riga exhibition three months later, he displayed ten paintings. Landscape with Poplars (1909-10, Plate 3.2), which is inscribed on the back "Stage Design", may have been shown in Riga (cat.36). The symmetry of the row of trees, bright colours, the movement and high viewpoint recall Monet's Poplar series. A decorative naturalism dominates much of Gaush's surviving work and it is therefore not surprising that he found the World of Art, with whom he began to show later in the year, a more suitable exhibiting platform.[87]

Another founder-member of the Union of Youth, Petr Ivanovich L'vov (1882-1944)[88] was born in Tobolsk, western Siberia. He had briefly studied at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture (1900-1902) before entering the Petersburg Academy

where he was a student of Kardovskii, Tsionglinskii, Rubo and Samokish. Bubnova described this friend of Markov's as "talented and disorderly".[89] He contributed to the group's first five exhibitions, the critic Vrangel' finding "two or three very dexterous pencil drawings"[90] at the first show.

L'vov preferred to draw Siberian scenes, landscapes, interiors and portraits. This is evident from the titles of his twenty-three exhibits at the Union of Youth's first exhibition, as well as from those shown at Riga.[91] His graphic work uses a free, bold and sketchy pencil/charcoal line. This is seen in his depiction of the old wooden bridge over the River Irtish in Tobolsk (Plate 3.3) with the Tobolsk kremlin, its ancient cathedral and prison, in the distance. Foreground and background are generalised with a rough line while the sky is reduced to a few diagonal strokes.

A similar lack of detail and description is also evident in L'vov's portraits (Plate 3.4) and domestic scenes (Plate 3.5). In the latter, fish hanging from the eaves of a barn, logs for the fire and building, the barrel used to bring water from the river and the pipe to collect rainwater, are all described with simplified, shaded line. However, L'vov's drawing could also be precise and figuratively accurate, as in his depiction of the military drummer (possibly from the Life Guards of the Pavlovsk Regiment - see Chapter Four) (Plate 3.6). His restricted choice of subject matter, and dependence on visual appearances, reduces the sense of innovation.

L'vov's involvement with the Union of Youth emphasised the group's ability to accommodate a variety of trends. Such breadth

of interests helped the group become not only a platform for new styles and theories but also a laboratory. L'vov's retention of academic principles did not exclude him from exhibiting alongside artists who were more concerned with formal experimentation or those who burdened their work with metaphysical content.

L'vov's concerns with graphic form, were paralleled by Nagubnikov's concentration on painterly composition. Svyatoslav Aleksandrovich Nagubnikov (1886-1914?)[92] studied with Rubo and Samokish at the Petersburg Academy. Bubnova described him as "the taciturn Nagubnikov who worked in dark prussian blue and black".[93] Throughout his long association with the Union of Youth (he participated in every exhibition but the last), he retained an academic interest in the study of form, while also responding to the influence of Cézanne. This is reflected by the number of still-lifes and portraits he exhibited.

Although early works were described as "strong and original"[94], those that survive show little evidence of that originality. Still-life with Oranges (Plate 3.7) recalls Cézanne's Fruit (1879-80, Plate 3.8), which had been in the Shchukin collection since 1903. Although Nagubnikov lacks Cézanne's emphasis on volume building up colour, he employs a similar range of warm oranges and cool grey-blues. He replaces Cézanne's jug and decanter with two bottles, depicted with six oranges and crumpled drapery. The irregular folds of the white tablecloth, shown under a bright light from the left, allow a more emphatic chiaroscuro than in Cézanne's work. There is some spatial ambiguity in the tilt of the table that is suggestive of the varied viewpoint seen

in Cézanne's positioning of the bowl on the right of Fruits. Nagubnikov attained a massive, static quality in his work, while retaining a lack of finish and emphasis on pictorial structure, and it is therefore unsurprising that in 1912 he was considered close in style to Kuprin.[95] Indeed, had he lived in Moscow, he could well have found an appropriate place in the Knave of Diamonds.

The Muscovites, shown in a separate room, offered a different vision. Their inclusion (especially that of Larionov and Goncharova) in the Union of Youth exhibitions is problematic for they were never members of the society, did not share in the group discussions or join the attempts at finding a common purpose and movement. Still, their art, while obviously distinct from that of the Petersburg artists, was inevitably related to it, and their inclusion in the exhibitions is legitimate considering the Union of Youth sought a "rapprochement of people interested in the arts". Thus, while Larionov and Goncharova cannot be considered integral to the Union of Youth, their presence, in all exhibitions but the last, is significant.[96]

As far as the works in the first exhibition are concerned the Muscovites and Petersburgers had little in common. The six Moscow artists were dominated by Larionov and Goncharova whose bold distortions of form and bright colour, were closer to the Burlyuks shown in the Wreath section of "The Impressionists", than to the Union of Youth artists. Many of the exhibits from Moscow had been previously seen at the last Golden Fleece salon which had closed five weeks earlier, on 31 January 1910. There Larionov and

Goncharova had asserted their leadership of the young Moscow avant-garde and launched their Neo-Primitivism. The Petersburg public, however, was not ready to comprehend their vulgarization of form and its new non-representational aspect.

Many works by the Muscovites have survived, but because of the ambiguity of the catalogue titles, it is impossible to make precise identifications. One work certainly shown was Goncharova's Planting Potatoes (cat. 29, plate 3.9), also displayed at the Golden Fleece. It can be used as an appropriate example for noting the stylistic features of one stage of her Neo-Primitivism. It depicts a rural scene of women working in the fields. The figures are simplified, flattened and separated by Gauguin's cloisonné technique. Indeed, the simplified delineation of form, stylization of plants and trees and relative restraint in colour, is, in the first place, indebted to Gauguin, e.g. Picking Fruit (1899, Plate 3.10), then in the Shchukin collection. Yet it also relates to the Russian lubok and icon which employed similar techniques. The positioning of the two disproportionately small figures in the centre of the canvas, denying spatial recession, is a device adopted from the lubok. Quite possibly Goncharova studied the freeing of painting from its pervasive narrative meaning in Gauguin's work and then applied a local context and improvised local techniques in order to make her work essentially Russian. Thus the composition is separated into three broad, horizontal layers of colour, divided by the verticals of the figures and trees that stretch out beyond the frame, yet the landscape, with its broad river in the background, and the figures, dressed in their

peasant clothes, are quite Russian. The linear rhythm in the work, combined with the decorative sense and hints of brilliant colour, as in the spades, headscarves and trousers, can also be associated with Goncharova's study of icon-painting.

One of the works contributed by Goncharova that has since disappeared was Portrait of Zel'manova (cat. 34), her fellow artist in Moscow (who also showed two works at this exhibition and who subsequently became an important member of the Union of Youth). Here the form appears to have been further simplified:

> What has she done with the young artist Zel'manova. Instead of a beautiful, blooming young lady God knows what looks out from the canvas! Some kind of flat head, without any age, and an extremely distorted face. This is not a portrait, not even a bad portrait. This is either a deliberate, shocking affectation or madness.[97]

Despite such indignation there was, perhaps surprisingly, an equivalent amount of cautious praise for the Moscow artists. Vrangel' saw a lack of individuality in the "imitation"[98] of the French modernists (comparing this with the similar, and yet contrary, lack of individuality shown at the Wanderers exhibition). Yet he was also able to admire the triptychs by Goncharova, and Zel'manova's Portrait of O.L.. The deliberate naivety and coarseness of form found in works by Goncharova, Larionov and Mashkov, naturally led some critics to call them attention seeking, ugly and ungifted daubing. Others, such as Rostislavov[99] and the Golden Fleece critic[100], aware that such deformations underlined a genuine and valid search for new artistic values, were openly supportive.

Breshko-Breshkovskii, in his negative criticism, mentioned a source of inspiration for Larionov:

> ...the exercises of Larionov have neither line nor depth of colour. All of them are ugly figures cruelly and coarsely covered with paint. Take his Hairdresser, twenty years ago in remote south-western Jewish mestechkos the signboards of the local barbers were distinguished by more skill and expression. And these women of Larionov and Mashkov, with their malignant absesses and loosely hanging stomachs and breasts are close to a joke.[101]

It cannot be said with absolute certainty which eight canvases Larionov exhibited, though from the catalogue, it is known that he displayed two still-lifes, two Bathers, The Water-Seller, The Strolling Woman as well as The Hairdresser. Breshko-Breshkovskii was right in isolating the provincial sources for the works. This was exactly what Larionov had been studying - as he sought to bring to his art the language and world of the Russian people. The transference of the unconventional stylistic devices of the lubok is highly apparent in his Hairdresser paintings (Plate 3.11). The figures are simplified and anatomically distorted, their heads either in profile or full-face; the perspective of the dressing table is inverted and its scrolled leg reminiscent of the stylized foliage in lubki; form is flattened and the space very limited; the bright colouring of the figures' clothes contrasts with the flat, pale ground.

Larionov's still-lifes exploited the signboard art of his native region.[102] In his primitivisation of the still-life Larionov concentrated his attention on elementary contrasts in mass. He copied the signboard painters' neglect of modelling and perspective. Paint could be thickly applied, the texture could vary - signboard painters were interested in a direct, static evocation of the objects for sale, rather than imbuing their work

with literary or associative meaning. Through employing their techniques, Larionov could simultaneously concentrate on compositional structure and colour combinations, and question the salient conventions of academicism and symbolism.

The Neo-Primitivist experiments of Larionov and Goncharova were very different from the explorations of the Petersburg artists (with the possible exceptions of Markov and Baudouin de Courtenay). To reinforce this distinction between the two cities, the Moscow artists did not participate in the group's meetings or discussions, and sought to remain apart from the other Union of Youth contributors, throughout the period of their co-operation. Nevertheless, the novelty of Larionov's and Goncharova's artistic approach influenced the Union of Youth and by 1911 this was beginning to become apparent. Markov reinforces the notion of the Union of Youth's debt to the Moscow contributors, as well as emphasising that their achievements hitherto had been modest, in a letter to Larionov, written shortly after the closure of the first exhibition:

> You have pushed forward our cause very effectively by supporting us and this itself moves the new art forward... Thanks to you we have quite confidently taken the path shown us by the Muscovites. We are not fanatics and we are not maestroes but we are somehow making use of the beauties of others...[103]

"The Russian Secession": The Union of Youth's Second Exhibition
13 June - 8 August 1910, Riga

Two months after the first Union of Youth exhibition closed in Petersburg, the second opened in Riga. It ran from the 13 June to 8 August 1910, in the Kenin Secondary School, 15 Terbatas Street. Although it has been recently confused with the first show there were notable differences.[104] Three artists, Filonov, Evseev and Vaulin, did not participate. Many others appeared for the first time, including former Wreath artists (Vladimir and David Burlyuk, Ekster, Shitov and Dydyshko) and artists who had previously exhibited with the New Society of Artists or the Union of Russian Artists (Petrov-Vodkin, Naumov, Zaretskii). The Moscow artists increased the number of their exhibits. The Riga exhibition comprised two hundred and twenty-two works by thirty-four artists. A note in the catalogue stated that there were four hundred and eighty-eight exhibits in all, but gave no details of the extra works. Little is known about these, although quite possibly they consisted primarily of photographs taken at the first Golden Fleece salon, since it was reported that they included reproductions of paintings by Cézanne (notably Portrait of the Artist's Wife, shown at the Golden Fleece), Van Gogh, Matisse and Gauguin, as well as thirteenth century Italian primitives, such as Nerrocio di Bartolomeo.[105]

It was possibly no coincidence that the Union of Youth show opened the day after the Izdebskii salon. The latter, which ran for four weeks in the premises of the Riga Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, had started in Odessa in December 1909,

opening in Kiev in February and Petersburg in April. By the time it reached Riga, the final stage of its tour, the exhibits in the catalogue had been reduced from seven hundred and seventy-six at Kiev to six hundred and seventeen.[106] Important French works by Braque, Bonnard, Vuillard, Valloton, Guerin, Gleizes, Denis, and Van Dongen were absent. The Burlyuk brothers and Petrov-Vodkin removed their works, appearing instead with the Union of Youth. Goncharova, and apparently Larionov, did the same, as if acknowledging Rostislavov's remarks that they had represented themselves better at the Union of Youth exhibition.[107] Yet Larionov's works, which appeared at the Union of Youth show in Riga, remained in the Salon catalogue.[108] The only artists who seem to have been represented at both exhibitions were Aleksandr Gaush (who showed one work, a decorative triptych, at the Salon), Ekster and Mashkov. It is also worth noting that artists such as Kul'bin, Shmit-Ryzhova, Rimša, Lentulov, Mikhnevich and, significantly, Matyushin contributed to the Riga Salon rather than to the Union of Youth. Thus the overlap between these two exhibitions of modernist trends was minimal.

The simultaneous showing of these two exhibitions in Riga gave the Latvian public the chance to see a spectrum of Russian avant-garde art. It was the Union of Youth's exhibition, however, that provoked the most discussion and argument among the local population and art critics. While the Salon presented a rather confused medley of international trends, the Union of Youth produced a more cohesive picture of Russian modernism. In subtitling its exhibition "The Russian Secession", the group

emphasised not only its links with developments in Europe, and Munich and Berlin in particular, but also the fact that the participants were to be seen as having broken with the Russian academic tradition. The new trends shown, while not fully representative of the recent changes in Russian painting, drew, in the first place, upon work by the Golden Fleece, Wreath and, of course, the Union of Youth exhibitors. Only the psychological tendency of Triangle was not represented.

Idealistic symbolism, with a debt to the Pre-Raphaelites, was evident in the works of Naumov, Petrov-Vodkin and Tsarevskaya, none of whom appeared with the Union of Youth on any other occasion. Pavel Semenovich Naumov (1884-1942) studied under Kardovskii at the Academy of Arts (1904-1911) and from 1908 had contributed to numerous exhibitions, including The Golden Fleece (1909 and 1910), Gaush's "Wreath", "The Link" in Kiev, the Union of Russian Artists (1910) and the New Society of Artists (1910). Many of the works he displayed in Riga had already been shown at these exhibitions.

Of Naumov's thirteen exhibits, two (<u>At the Spring</u> and <u>Meeting</u>[109]) have survived, while another two (<u>Calm</u> and <u>Autumn</u>) are known by description.[110] All four are decorative compositions dominated by a sense of melancholic contemplation. <u>At the Spring</u> (cat. 141) depicts an Italian landscape with classical figures. In the centre is a double image of a seated woman in a bright green dress; to her right is a male figure in a red tunic. Beyond is an idealized valley and a mountain. Joining the other figures in the foreground are two women in long flowing pink and yellow robes, their hands gracefully gesturing. Line is smooth and melodic;

colours are bright, lending an atmosphere of calm to the composition.

In Naumov's Meeting (cat. 149) a blue light envelopes the scene of armoured knights on red and white horses arriving at a castle to be greeted by women in long blue-patterned dress. The faces are drawn with severe iconic linearity and stylization. The generalised forms of the blue hills in the distance recall the meditative landscapes of Rerikh, with whom Naumov was working at this time. Nature is subordinated to simple colour combinations and delineated curving forms, evocative of a romantic vision of a beautiful past.

Vera Kirillovna Tsarevskaya (1882-1956, also known as Tsarevskaya-Naumova) had also studied under Kardovskii (1904-6).[111] Her exhibits included a sculpture and two works entitled Fairy Tale (cat. 191-192). A description of one of the latter survives: "Here is a knight, who sleeps, sitting in such a pose that he begs Shchedrin's words "My friend, why do you act with such affectation?" while slim and melancholic Pre-Raphaelite virgins look on".[112] This compares with a surviving work, Yarilin Day[113], which is full of individual symbolic-religious pastoral scenes and an iconography that brings to mind Burne-Jones and Giotto. Tsarevskaya's contribution to the exhibition is undoubtedly of no great importance in itself, yet it emphasises the presence, albeit only welcomed for this one show, of the younger generation of Russian neo-classical, symbolist painters.

Kuz'ma Sergeevich Petrov-Vodkin (1878-1939) graduated from the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in 1904.

From April 1906 to October 1908 he studied in Paris where he was influenced by Puvis de Chavannes and the Nabis. Upon his return to Russia he settled in St. Petersburg and in 1909 began to exhibit his works: in a one-man show organised by Sergei Makovskii and Apollo [Apollon], the second Golden Fleece exhibition, Makovskii's Salon 1909, and the Union of Russian Artists (March 1910). The Dream, one of his exhibits at the latter, caused a sensation and the diversity of interpretations stimulated the break-up of the Union. It was shown again at the Union of Youth's show, Petrov-Vodkin's third major exhibition since his return from abroad. His twenty-six pictures filled a separate room.

The vast majority of Petrov-Vodkin's exhibits were sketches and studies from his trip to North Africa in 1907, and as such do not reflect his idealistic-symbolist interests. Many had been displayed at the "Salon 1909" and his Apollo exhibition. These were mainly documentary works, where the recording of exotic worlds was of primary importance e.g.: Palm Trees, The Sahara, Kasbah in Algiers, and Carthagenian Woman and The Desert at Night. At Riga, such works were praised:

> His Birth (no. 157), a realistic work, is superb - a negro woman, having just given birth and by her a dark-skinned midwife, in brown and blue tones. There are magnificent waves of yellow sand in his Sahara (No. 166). The drawing of a female figure (No. 156) also jumps out of the paper. The study of negroes (No. 174) is very effective - something like the regal Seliki from the opera "African Woman".[114]

With an increased concentration on artistic device, Petrov-Vodkin strove to convey a partially-symbolist worldview in three other exhibits - major paintings, from 1907, 1908 and 1910. The first, Portrait of Maria Fedorovna Petrova-Vodkina, Wife of the

Artist (1907, Plate 3.13) appeared ex-catalogue.[115] Maria Fedorovna, dressed in dark bottle-green sits in a slightly hunched pose with arms folded. In the background is an unfinished painting or tapestry on which three simplified female figures are set in repose against the simplified yellow-green curves of a landscape. This play of the concrete and idealized, with the wan colours and abstract features of the backdrop serving to emphasize the illuminated face and eyes, as well as the olive dress of the model, recalls Borisov-Musatov. Even the wistful, melancholic look of Maria Fedorovna, has that other-worldliness of Borisov-Musatov's young women.

The unfinished painting in the portrait hints at the symbolic complexity of Petrov-Vodkin's subsequent works. The Shore (1908, ex-catalogue[116], plate 3.14), previously shown at the second Golden Fleece salon, depicted five half-naked, dreamy young women in the foreground. Their classical poses, simplified expressions and apparent isolation from one another recall Puvis de Chavannes (Petrov-Vodkin had clearly seen his Girls on the Seashore in the Louvre during his stay in Paris). The pale blue-greys of the featureless hills in the background envelope the picture in a misty haze. Only the clearly defined pebbles, the black robe of the foremost girl and the girl on the right are not penetrated by this soft light. This duality creates a sense of tension, heightened by the sharpened depiction of the girl with clasped hands on the right, which dispels the potential harmony of the painting, giving life to the otherwise wan composition.

The Dream (1910, cat.154, Plate 3.15) was a more complex

painting, full of ambiguity in its symbolism. The scene seems simple enough - three naked young figures on the picture surface and behind them a blue sky, rolling landscape and erupting volcano. The women, looking intently at the boy, are the visions of his dream. The foremost female represents the spiritual side of woman to which he is attracted, while the other is woman's physical aspect. However, the symbolism may be taken a step further and the sleeping youth interpreted as the poetical consciousness of man, while the women, one pink and weak looking, the other darker-skinned, more muscular and healthy, represent beauty and ugliness. The subject bears a direct relation to Raphael's The Dream of the Knight (Plate 3.16) in which a sleeping youth, his legs crossed, lies on the ground before the solemn eyes of two young women as well as being suggestive of Ferdinand Hodler (e.g. The Chosen One Plate 3.17). Both Petrov-Vodkin and Hodler projected the conflicting tendencies of naturalism, idealism and Symbolism and both arrived at formulas for their art derived from pre-Renaissance painting. They used stylised but precisely modelled figures isolated against a neutral background. In The Dream the emptiness of the land behind the figures is emphasised by the dissonance of its bluish-green tones with the black, pink and browns of the foreground and figures. The figures are isolated from one another, and the spectator, in a spiritual solitude. But while Hodler's art was fundamentally marked by a decorative, *art nouveau aspect*, Petrov-Vodkin's held much meaning and substance for the growth of a double-edged Russian avant-garde art.

In The Dream Petrov-Vodkin achieved a powerful combination of

coloristic and plastic means. For example, the bodies are over-modelled anatomical studies and the colour scales dissonant, contributing to a deliberate formal and stylistic incongruity. While the content remains ambiguous it is clear that he sought to embody universal notions in concrete forms and to this end turned to the plastic language of a variety of times and cultures. This retention of figurative painting and historical precedents belies the experimentation that penetrated the trend of Russian synthetism to which Petrov-Vodkin, like Kul'bin and Markov, belonged.

Six artists (Petrov-Vodkin, Larionov, Goncharova, Mitrokhin[117], L'vov and Markov) were given individual rooms at the Riga exhibition. Larionov and Goncharova supplemented those works they had shown at the Petersburg exhibition with Neo-Primitivist paintings they had exhibited at the Izdebskii Salon in Petersburg and at the Golden Fleece. Despite the use of different expressive means there is a similar complexity of motif in the work of the two Moscow-based artists to that of Petrov-Vodkin. Both had been Petrov-Vodkin's contemporaries at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.

All three artists simplified form, explored the dissonance of bright colours, exaggerated features and introduced unexpected objects. For example, Goncharova, in her Portrait of Verlaine, represented the deeply set eyes and face of the Symbolist poet "in completely putrid colours"[117(a)]; Larionov's Walk in a Provincial Town (cat. 77, plate 3.18), includes a pig (the most dignified of all the figures) in the foreground; and Petrov-Vodkin's The Dream has two heaps of meteor-like black stone in prominent positions.

Such features exaggerate the distortions inherent in two-dimensional representational painting rather than trying to hide them. Rejecting the objective observation of nature, all three studied and employed Russian icon painting techniques, as well as the brightened palettes, colour combinations and definition of space of Matisse and Gauguin. However, Petrov-Vodkin used the language of neo-classicism, while Larionov and Goncharova used that of the lubok and Russian folk art. In addition, Petrov-Vodkin alone maintained a direct link between the subject matter, means of expression and the concrete idea. For Larionov and Goncharova, as for the Burlyuks, who made their debut with the Union of Youth at Riga, painting was now primarily a display of device, an exercise in colour and line.[118]

Similar concerns were apparent in the work of Ilya Mashkov. Most of his twelve exhibits were still-lifes and portraits. Indeed, his focus on contrasts in mass and volume was so emphatic that his portraits began to be treated in a similar manner to his still-lifes. Thus the pictorial structure became more important than any psychological penetration. At Riga, Mashkov complemented the two works he had shown in Petersburg with several others. These included the lost works described as follows: "His Ilya Muromets [ex cat.] is striking in its strength of colour and gives a powerful personification of raw and elemental strength. Also one of the best works is the young man in a grey jacket on a red background"[119]; "Mashkov's study (No. 106), a green-blue-grey-red naked lady, is a masterpiece of blended colour."[120]

Although the work of Nagubnikov and occasionally that of

Markov showed signs of a similar interest in compositional structure, other exhibitors from Petersburg still appeared more inclined to a dematerialized, realistic symbolism.[121] Mikhail Aleksandrovich Shitov's work, with subjects similar to those of Shkol'nik, is in stark contrast with Mashkov's.[122] At Riga he displayed thirteen exhibits, some of which had already been shown at the 1909 "Wreath" show. His titles, clearly in the Verlaine and Maeterlinck tradition, included Light Symphony, Bluebirds, White Morning, Autumn Sounds and In the Chambers of Sorrow. Described as "monotone, foggy and incomprehensible"[123], the works were essentially soulscapes - atmospheric representations of emotions, impressions and sounds. One critic had previously commented:

> These are not paintings but canvases... This is the music of colour, in places beautiful and sadly gay, but then sounding depressed and gloomy. This is only colour and don't look for anything else - but if you know the sound of the wind and if you can discern the song of the current of spring then you can get close to the charm of these musical motifs.[124]

Shitov's paintings seem comparable with Čiurlionis's more abstract "musical" canvases, and certainly, since he had exhibited at the first Golden Fleece salon, with Kuznetsov's poetic fantasies.[125] Clearly all three artists belonged to the trend that sought to imbue art with metaphysical significance, that sought to perceive and express intuitive and pure sound; and that equated inner music with the rhythm and pulse of the world. By 1910 Kuznetsov had abandoned this philosophical burden in his work, yet it had been taken up afresh by Kul'bin and Markov in their independent attempts to modernise art. Indeed, Shitov's art seems to have special relevance for Kul'bin's ideas concerning the depiction of colour

music. He displayed two works under the title Music (cat.200): "in black and white colours (the white "music" is depicted as a sort of Japanese woman and a cave made of stalactites; the black is completely covered by a fog)".[126]

The remaining participants in the exhibition received almost no critical attention from the Russian press in Riga. Thus a symbolism close to Shitov's and Shkol'nik's may well have been displayed, in the work of Shleifer (Spring, Peacocks), Gaush (Autumn Evening, White Night), Mitel'man (The Heavens, Fairy Tale and Symphony) and Dydyshko (The Dead, Evening and The Lake).[127] Other exhibitors, such as Verkhovskii, Nalepinskaya, Baudouin de Courtenay, Spandikov[128], Afanas'ev-Kokel', Zaretskii[129], Ukhanova[130] and Bubnova[131], only showed a few works between them and of these many were portrait or still-life studies. Several of these artists (six at least) were studying at the Academy, and their inclusion, together with that of Markov, L'vov and Nagubnikov, indicates the growing dominance of Academy students within the Union of Youth. At least sixteen of the twenty-five Petersburg artists represented in Riga were present or former students of the Academy. It was left to Markov to be their spokesman and outline their artistic aims and methods.

Vladimir Markov (Voldemārs Matvejs) (1877-1914)[132]

Vladimir Markov (Plate 3.19) only exhibited three times with the Union of Youth: in the first two exhibitions and at the Donkey's Tail in March 1912. This, however, belies his activity within the group and was perhaps a cautious step against provoking the wrath of the Academy of Arts (which he had entered in 1906) and in particular his professor Dubovskoi.[133] Markov himself noted in the summer of 1910, that the Academy, together with the Moscow art schools, had expelled more than fifty pupils during the academic year" because they were working in the spirit of the 'Golden Fleece' exhibitions".[134] He implied that the student contingent of the Union of Youth were also working in this spirit, having studied Shchukin's and Morozov's collections of French Symbolists, Impressionists, Post-Impressionists and, more recently, "the colour problems posed by the newest French artists - Matisse, Braque, Van Dongen and Picasso." This study combined with an "examination of the Pre-Raphaelites and Russian folk art" to create the various modern styles of the Union of Youth.

The uncharacteristically large number of works and the organisational initiative Markov showed at the first two exhibitions was probably an expression of enthusiasm for having found an outlet for his endeavours. The Riga show opened in Markov's home town as a result of his recommendation and efforts.[135] Never again was he to exhibit works in such quantities.[136]

Numerous descriptions survive of Markov's work, complementing

the relatively unrepresentative collection of his paintings and studies now in the Latvian Museum of Art.[137] These help stress the lengths to which he went in trying to embody his ideas and the extent to which he contributed to the development of modernism in Russian art. For example, at his posthumous exhibition in Riga (December 1914) of the one hundred and seventy-three untitled works displayed, a considerable number were described as abstract studies of colour combinations: "... white or red spots are depicted against a yellow background. Some works... have, instead of the spots, red or orange stripes. 'Experts' maintain that these spots and stripes create some kind of mood".[138]

Markov showed only ten works at the second Union of Youth exhibition as compared to twenty-one at the first, perhaps because he was simultaneously participating in the first "Exhibition of Latvian Artists" (Riga, 15 June - 16 July 1910). Those works missing were mainly from his Italian series, suggesting that their traditional content had been deemed more suitable for the Latvian artists' show. One curious anamoly was Yellow on Yellow, which disappeared after the Petersburg exhibition. The abstraction suggested by the title implies a correlation with the above descriptions of white or red spots on yellow.

Treilev noted that Markov was "an original artist... unafraid of combining styles and not setting any limits to his imagination."[139] Like Borisov-Musatov and Petrov-Vodkin, Markov attempted to join idea and form, and to this end used colour combinations based both on harmony and dissonance. But Markov's art differed from both of these artists' not only because he used a

greater variety of sources, but also because form for him was something more active, more expressive and, ultimately, more sacred. Form itself was an expression of inner characteristics - be it national, folk, or simply individual. Here his ideas were closer to the Neo-Primitivists.

For Markov, beauty was expressed when art perfectly accorded to the time and place. The artist's concern was to feel the atmosphere. This could be done by looking at the historical traditions that have shaped the modern situation. But an artist should also be free to indulge his fantasy, to express universal themes and emotions. In this Markov fully belongs to the symbolist aesthetic. The triptych Morning, Noon and Evening (cat.97), which he showed at both the first and second Union of Youth exhibitions, depicted: "childish, hopeless figures; one canvas is in grey-lilac tones, the second in yellow and red spots and the third is violet."[140] It was also described thus:

> Morning and Noon are not so much morning or noon but rather stylish illustrations of slavic scenes from those times when they were still like "wild animals". His Evening really resembles evening, but it is the evening of human life, the evening of stormy, proud, refactory and disturbed life, finally broken and submitting to the supreme power. Thus we understand his figure standing on crutches before the church.[141]

Similarly Golgotha (cat.94), which may well have been the Torture of Our Saviour censored at the Petersburg exhibition[142], was regarded as "... more a symbolic representation of the procession of mankind to something dismal, shameful and generally rotten, than the treatment of the title theme."[143]

The symbolist attempt to impart universal relevance to the

subject was repeated in Seven Princesses (cat. 102, Plate 3.20), where ethereal figures in long purple and green robes, stare out to sea, watching a distant ship. The tall group of figures filling the picture space are like monumental, sculptured figures, their poses taught and static, their features rubbed away by the processes of time. The almost timeless dresses, the melancholic mood, the subdued tones and the generalization of form recall Borisov-Musatov. This is especially evident in the other-worldly expression of the figure to the far left. Indeed, the subtle tonality, flat space and frieze-like composition, all appear in keeping with the Saratov artist's techniques.

If a period were to be attached to the subject, the shape of the headdresses and the ship suggest the medieval. The use of suggestion generally is appropriate, for the work appears to relate rather loosely to Maeterlinck's Seven Princesses (1891), the last of the author's trilogy of death. There is no specific correlation with a scene. The ship in the distance can be taken as the man-of-war that has brought a prince to marry, only to find that of the seven awaiting princesses, his chosen one has died. Markov's interpretation is free: if the ship is arriving the princesses should be lying asleep, or if it is departing only six should be on their feet. Maeterlinck's play has been described as

> a tableau recalling the albums of the Pre-Raphaelite Walter Crane, rather than a drama proper... The princely lover who returns to find his beloved dead is a figure of legend, but this is no fairy tale. Rather is it the allegory of Love seeking after the Ideal. This Ideal may be attained only by penetrating Death itself, and yet, once Man approaches, the Ideal itself dies and the barrier remains between the two.[144]

Markov's wan, misty images, an early characteristic of his work, appropriately recall Maeterlinck's 'Pre-Raphaelitism'.

Markov's Ideas: A Comparison with Kul'bin

a) Colour and Nature

Markov first outlined his ideas in "The Russian Secession" [Russkii Setsession], an article published in the summer of 1910, at the time of the Riga exhibition.[145] As if speaking for the Union of Youth as a whole, he described the modern artist's relation to nature. He traced this to the art of various cultures and individuals, and concentrated on colour as the foremost medium of expression. Markov argued that the subject matter was not that depicted, which acted merely as a source, but the manner of its depiction: "... real objects never serve us as the object of our work but only the issuing point of it. We need a text for our melodies, and if we paint teapots then of course we are not concerned with teapots, but almost certainly with something else."[146] Through such argument Markov established a theoretical basis for Larionov's Neo-Primitivism:

> We do not express nature itself but only our relation to it. We take from nature only that which may be called its radium. Thus nature is not the object but the departure point for our creative work. It brings to our fantasy some melody of colours and lines which when conveyed on the canvas in all fullness have nothing in common with nature.[147]

As one of the earliest apologies for Russian modernism, Markov's 1910 theory is worth comparing with Kul'bin's. This also helps to establish to what extent there was a critical overlap between the Union of Youth and Triangle.

For both artists art was a search for universal beauty and this involved exploring the individual's relation to nature and rejecting academic realism. However, Markov's freedom from visual appearances led in different directions to Kul'bin's. The latter's "free art" was limited by an omnipresent relativity and the pantheistic conception of reality. The same sun could be painted "gold.. silver... pink... colourless"[148] by different artists but they would still be painting their relation to the sun i.e. there would still be an empirical object.

Markov's relations to the "teapot" as a starting point left the way open for a more intrinsic and non-objective art. Kul'bin's 'hints' of the object were absent in Markov's 'radium' which was purely metaphysical. Put simply, the difference may be described as that between realistic (Kul'bin) and idealistic (Markov) symbolism. Markov wrote:

> If music is musical then why can't painting be painterly. Only then, when colours are free, when they are independent from this or that concrete notion, only then can one colour cling to another and that which is sweetest of all to it. Only then can colour ideas come into being and open a new, strange and forbidden profane world... That which man creates nature never does... Zola's formula that art is nature passing through a prism of temperament is unsuitable for us. For nature is unnecessary to us.[149]

In other words, man is distinct from the rest of nature and his creations should reflect that distinction. The very essence of art is that it is not nature: "In nature everything is subordinate to laws. In art everything must be permissable."[150] This justified, for example, Larionov's irreverant and unassociated images in his Soldiers series of 1908-11. However, for Kul'bin, the pantheist, all was one: man and nature were too intimately united to be

separated. Art therefore was an expression of nature be it a reflection of man's psyche, sound or movement.

Ultimately both Kul'bin and Markov regarded art as an expression of the self. Kul'bin wrote "The world of the artist is the reflection of his feeling, will and consciousness"[151] and this meant that "the artist sincerely reflects on the canvas how his environment appears to him".[152] Markov made no such demands concerning the depiction of the surroundings, although he expected art to do similar tasks, and through similar means. He wrote:

> When a colour appears as an expression of temperament it can be pure, innocent, sinful, dirty, wild, naive, sweet, loud, childish, national, mystical. Is this not a rich world? And any person who has the ability to perceive all this delights in it. But the existence of this world of colour is possible only when colour is reproduced absolutely free, when it is not in the service of materially-relative phenomena and ideas.[153]

Markov freed colour from conceptual associations so that it was intuitive. Kul'bin also sought an intuitive art, but his notion of intuition was not of an isolated metaphysical action but of a physical response. He therefore did not allow art to be free from an interpretation of "materially-relative phenomena". His psychologist's outlook saw man's consciousness and subconscious as physiological: even colours when spontaneously chosen are identifiable with certain strict subconscious laws which, in turn, are governed by the laws of nature.[154] The use of colour as an expression of temperament, backed by scientific rules which determine its action on the spectator, was central for Kul'bin: his theory of "close combinations"[155] states that the parallel positioning of colours of minimum tonal divergence produces powerful affects on the psyche - in this way man was able to create

an affect like that of nature which had no boundaries in colour or form.

Markov, on the other hand, sought to distance colour from nature. In nature colour is never free from form and material. In the new art it must be free. Thus:

> In nature the colours of the spectrum exist not by themselves, independently, but relative to all possible organically-necessary and sensible phenomena. Here light, water, air etc. are endlessly related. Every colour in nature unites absolutely with a notion of something material, provokes an image of some object. All colour combinations in nature appear at the same time as some material phenomena.
>
> Thus colours act as slaves. In nature there are no unnecessary colours just as there are no unnecessary colour combinations. Everything in it has been subordinated from the start to monotonous and dull laws.
>
> The world of colour must be another world. When colour frees itself from its slaves' duties it opens up new worlds with new poetics and new secrets.[156]

This contrasts with Kul'bin's far more dynamic and vital vision of natural laws that are open to continual re-examination and revision. For Kul'bin the identity of nature was forever being challenged and changed. In his notion of 'impressionism' art could be free, full of harmony and dissonance, visually representative or an expression of fantasy, but it was always subordinate to nature. What it should not be is subordinate to the inadequate ideas about the nature of reality habitually taught in the academies:

> No poems, symphonies and absolutely no paintings exist without ideas. Paintings, literature, music and the plastic arts are the artists' expression. Works of art are the living, brilliant letters of art.
>
> Not everyone can read these heiroglyphics. Anyone can say whether a photograph or an academic painting resembles his routine notion about "nature". But this is not art.
>
> In order that the observer comprehends the genuine object of art and is able to enjoy the poetry contained within it, it is necessary to awaken in him the ideas of the art. In order that the artist created objects of art the poet within him had to be awakened.
>
> The poetry of art is the theory of art.[157]

Kul'bin's stance is both conceptual and perceptual. New discoveries in science (X-rays, microbiology, for example) were to change established theories about the nature of reality, and Kul'bin felt it essential for art to reflect these developments. His works are studded with references to art as natural products and reality as a natural work of art: "The world is a work of natural art - a play of dissonance with consonance"[158]; "Art is the basis of life, a form of natural religion"[159]; "Works of art are the flowers of culture".[160]

This monistic worldview (the identification of art, science, man and nature) was far from being accepted by Markov. Although he used the analogy of the newly discovered element of radium in association with the content of art, he appears to have rejected science altogether. Art was to be grounded in art (and culture) alone. Artistic reality was, and always had been, distinct from natural reality. He developed the theory of chance[161] as essential for art, rather than law. Still, he agreed with Kul'bin's dismissal of academic notions of nature:

> We hate the copying of nature, this bankruptcy of thought and feeling, we hate studies of light and shade, studies of air and light, studies of sun and rain - all of this has nothing in common with the study of the world of colour. Giving the texture of visible objects is not the aim of art but of the crafts. It cannot give pleasure either to the public or the author; it is just grammatical exercises for children.[162]

Markov's rejection of Kul'bin's impressionism was applicable to many Union of Youth exhibitors at Riga (not least Larionov, Goncharova, the Burlyuks, Petrov-Vodkin and himself). Some of his own small oil studies indicate the variety of sources from which he

took his motifs i.e. the breadth of his searching for beautiful, expressive form. Bernovo (Plate 3.21) depicts the Russian village where Bubnova's family had their dacha. The ground and houses are painted with broad brushstrokes of bright orange and yellow. The houses are flattened and simplified; the only details are one or two squares of windows. The trees are emphatically two-dimensional painterly forms. The stream in the foreground is a crude line of broad diagonal brushwork. Such treatment creates spatial ambiguity. Similar distortions are apparent in Landscape (Plate 3.22) where the flat red and yellow houses in the city square, backed by a red sky, have a colour-space and crude, thick delineation of form suggestive of the Fauve work of Marquet and de Vlaminck (e.g. Marquet's Ciboure 1907, Plate 3.23).

Elsewhere Markov reflected his distance from nature in works with religious, mythological or mystical subjects. In the Study of Two Women and an Infant (Plate 3.24) he uses a range of yellow and red tones. The figures are flattened and the background generalised, but the brushwork is much more delicate and marked by a linearity that recalls the frescoes of the thirteenth century Sienese and Umbrian primitives. This is further emphasised by the inclination of the Madonna's head and the schematic details of the infant's body. The Sketch (Plate 3.25) of three women and a traveller is more symbolist and mystical. The scene is enveloped in a hazy orange and the figures, in their long, flowing dresses, lack detail. A narrative element is retained: the central figure of the woman in white turns towards the seated man, whose pose,

with his dog at his feet, suggests he is ready to give advice. Here the debt appears to be to Denis and the Nabis of the 1890s.

b) Line and Form

With their different emphases on idealistic and realistic symbolism, line and form were also variously interpreted by Kul'bin and Markov. While rejecting neither linear simplicity or formal symmetry, Kul'bin saw their effect as muted: "Complete harmony is death...life resting...a circle...with no start and no end... force in potential".[163] Again he based his argument in science:

> In the crystal is the greatest symmetry, the greatest regularity of relations. The common salt crystal, a cube, is an example of great harmony. In it all sides, areas and angles are equal; all its relations are regular."[164]

Composed of two elements, sodium and chlorine, when dry, they are inactive, "resting in harmony"[165], but upon the introduction of two other elements, hydrogen and oxygen, i.e. water, "the form is complicated, dissonances ring out and the salt is awakened for adventure."[166] Furthermore:

> As far as the complication of form is concerned the less regular it becomes the more strongly is dissonance conveyed. A crooked line is dissonant. The most dissonant forms are those which have living cells, the human form - the jelly-like form, the colloidal.[167]

To create a living, that is a truly realistic, art some dissonance was necessary. The Wreath artists based their art on the routine denial of "harmony, symmetry and anatomy"[168], deliberately sought the embodiment of dissonance and were "devoted exclusively to their own personal impression".[169] Kul'bin preferred a play of harmony and dissonance in a work of art, for only then did it truly reflect

the nature of life; only then could personal impressions be interpreted within the context of life generally.

Markov, like Kul'bin, recognised the freedom of line and acknowledged its potential: "Lines free from anatomical laws and conventions are rich in surprises".[170] However, having studied Cézanne's work, Markov was more in favour of simple geometric figures and forms, noting their great versatility:

> The square, cone, cylinder and sphere have infinite variations in architecture. It is only a shame that the pyramid, with its inclined planes and large base has been so little developed and rare in architecture. Greece forced out this grandiose, monumental and mystical form. Not a single palace or temple or house is now built using this form.
> In the Gothic style the lines extend to infinity; here it is cold and serious; in the East it is passionate and with infinite variations. India, China, Assyria, Byzantium - every country and every nation break lines according to their taste and manner. Each has its own ornamentation. But not only nations but every great artist has his own calligraphy.[171]

c) Beauty and Perception

Markov and Kul'bin had most in common when it came to the meaning and significance of beauty; although for Markov it was something mysterious and remote from intelligible nature, while for Kul'bin it was created in the psyche of the artist and reflected his experience of nature - his knowledge of existence being relative to his own being. For both it was to have a revelatory nature, being concerned with the "unmasking of invisible things."[172] As seen in Chapter Two, perception of these invisible things relied on a heightened "consciousness, feeling and will"[173] and entailed the artist obtaining a special 'poetic' state of consciousness. Then the artist would be able to sense the beautiful. The beautiful, the expression of the poetic experiences

of man, remained the aim of art - for both Kul'bin and Markov.

It is quite possible that Markov attended the numerous lectures Kul'bin gave in Petersburg on free art and the theory of artistic creation. He had also probably read Kul'bin's theories in The Studio of Impressionists which appeared just four months before his own article. Both artists sought to modernise art by discarding the public demands for a pleasant impression, rejecting "all sugariness in art"[174] (Kul'bin) and the abandoning "deft brushstrokes of Zorn or Sorolla [which] are no more than *salto mortale*, cheap effects"[175] (Markov).

Markov felt that the twentieth century had lost the principles of beauty discovered by the artists of "Egypt, Heliopolis, Samarra, Japan, Byzantium, the frescoes of the catacombs, mosaics, Islamic fantasies and Russian art".[176] Whatever shortcomings such artists may have had in regard to technical ability they were extremely skilled in using "invisible means to express beauty, to fix individual and national fantasies".[177] Modern art needed to rediscover those invisible means, to replace technique and the crafts which had become too prominent, with beauty: "Art and the crafts never get on with one another. Beauty usually functions and manifests itself especially strongly where the crafts are in a rudimentary state and where they ostensibly do not exist."[178] Beauty was to be found, therefore, not only in the art of the past but also in the primitive arts of the present: "in caricatures, children's drawings, in folk art, and even in signboards which sometimes present and resolve colour problems unbeknown to their authors."[179] But "beauty...is so capricious"[180] and it needs (as

Kul'bin also argued) a sharpening of the consciousness in order to be perceptible.

In fact, both artists turned to Buddhist belief to elucidate their aesthetic ideas. Kul'bin's psychological pantheism (often couched in Buddhist terms) is very close to Buddhist thought. This is true of his notion that art and beauty, which are present everywhere in nature (in stones, plants, movement of the stars and seas as well as in man-made creations) just require a certain state of awareness in order to be perceived:

> It is difficult, very difficult to read spontaneously the heiroglyphics of life and the structure of the crystal, the flower and the most beautiful animal. Not everyone can read the deeds of art of the most beautiful of animals: primitive man and our children - even though it is simple.[181]

Markov talked directly about Buddhism and the lessons that the modern artist could derive from its teachings. First of all, the artist must be able to penetrate, like the peoples of the ancient worlds, into a new state of existence, "the circle of the spirit, of unreal nature."[182] To attain this "One must possess refined and keenly ordered thoughts and feelings in order to forget the ordinary and commonplace".[183] Having achieved this altered state of consciousness, one would be able to perceive "a completely different character of desires, different beauties, different secrets and different motives."[184] This perception of the 'poetic' could then be expressed in art. Markov cited the painting of the Tibetan Buddhist artists of Hara-Hoto[185] as an example:

> Its colour combinations were so unexpected and so logical, and everything in it was arranged with such demonical richness and mystery that one comes to realise that these people were unspoiled, that their feelings had not been distracted by dirty realism, that they were able to catch beauty, able to

feel, to believe, to love and to reason.[186]

Beauty then, for Markov, was something individual and universal, something commencing from within man, rather than being revealed from outside. Labelling the persuasions of Kul'bin and Markov, as with many of the Union of Youth contributors, proves complex and full of pitfalls. Calling Kul'bin a 'realistic symbolist' and Markov an 'idealistic symbolist' is insufficient. However, Kul'bin could be seen as a 'psychological-impressionist' and Markov as a 'symbolist-expressionist'. In other words, for Kul'bin art was a conceptualised symbol of the world as perceived by man and in which he participated, while for Markov it was a symbol of man's temperament, independent of exterior phenomena.

Impressionism and Expressionism were never clearly defined as distinct schools in Russian modernism, often overlaid by symbolism, and it is for this reason that it is so hard to establish direct parallels with any one European trend. Jensen, although concerned primarily with literature, has identified the problem:

> Impressionism in Russia existed as a stylistic tendency that influenced realists, symbolists and futurists, yet impressionism never became an exclusive feature of any school... Impressionism is a meeting ground for various schools and movements, realistic and modernistic."[187]

For Markov, beauty was physically expressed, before all else, in the combination of colours, although the distortion of form was also capable of "much distinctive and even conventional beauty".[188] This explained the attraction, for the Union of Youth artists, of primitive art, the naivety of which they considered rich in poetry. There was no need to "be overmodest with colour".[189] Bright or grey tones could be just as effective as one another and sharp

contrasts (which Markov incidentally noted were found in church stained-glass windows) by themselves did not necessarily create solutions but were more likely to convey new problems. As seen in his own work, Markov was not averse to bright colour combinations, although, in keeping with his theory, he also used a subdued palette. This is especially evident in the primitive Man with a Horse (Plate 3.26) which is dominated by grey-brown tones. Only the red of the man's trousers interrupt this colour scheme. Line is totally subservient to colour as the forms blend into an integrated, simplified whole.

Markov wrote as if for the Union of Youth as a whole and his ideas are applicable to many in the group, not only its Neo-Primitivist associates. He traced such ideas to the appearance in Russia of the art of Puvis de Chavannes, Monet, the Pointillists, Cézanne, Gauguin, Matisse, Braque, Van Dongen and Picasso; while also acknowledging the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites and Russian folk art. But he regarded his group's fundamental freeing of colour and form from concrete notions as indebted primarily to Van Gogh, Gauguin and Cézanne.

Still, the Union of Youth artists retained certain academic principles of composition and none, as yet, had challenged two-dimensional representation itself. Rather they challenged various established compositional elements and techniques; their 1910 exhibitions, with the Fauve-like primitivism of the Muscovites[190] and the convoluted combination of symbolism, impressionism and neo-classicism, justifying the title of "The Russian Secession".

FOOTNOTES

1. Although the third Duma of 1907 was an unrepresentative parliamentary assembly, political parties were present and had gained the right to hold public meetings. Political issues were beginning to be openly discussed in the press and censorship became milder. Calls for more peasant rights and reorganisation of the land intensified. Army and navy mutinies, acts of terror and peasant revolts were frequent. However, the intelligentsia's preoccupation with revolution and social concerns diminished and respect for religion increased. This led artists and writers to consider intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic problems on their own merits. The World of Art had laid the foundations for such a position. Kul'bin's call for free art was part of this movement, although, like the Neo-Primitivists, he reintroduced an element of social function with his demands for a new consciousness.

2. While Morozov, Shchukin and Ryabushinskii concentrated on bringing French art to Russia, links with Munich were considerable. The Russian emigrés Kandinsky and Jawlensky were co-founders of the Neue Künstlervereinigung [New Artists' Association] in 1909. The work of this group shows clear correlations with that of Kul'bin and the Union of Youth (See Chapter One, Footnote 48 and below). Kandinsky alone contributed over fifty works to Izdebskii's first salon and expressed a symbolist aesthetic based on subjective truth not dissimilar to that of the Petersburg avant-garde from the World of Art onwards. It should also be noted that Kandinsky and Jawlensky (with Werefkin) contributed to Makovskii's Salon in January 1909 and both had previously been represented at the Moscow Association of Artists (1907 and 1908).

3. See Chapter Two, Footnote 127.

4. A. Rostislavov, "Soyuz Molodezhi" Rech' No. 7, 8 January 1910, p. 5.

5. Concerning Markov see below, this chapter. Markov's real name was Hans Voldemārs Yanov Matvejs. This is the Latvian version of his name. The usual Russian version was Voldemar Matvei. After 1910 he published articles under the pseudonym Vladimir Markov. In this thesis he is referred to as Markov throughout.

6. Union of Youth archive, Manuscript Department, Russian Museum, Leningrad, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 2, l. 1.

7. Rostislav Vladimirovich Voinov (1881-1919) studied at the School of Drawing at the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts and in L. E. Dmitriev-Kavkazskii's studio (late 1890s to early 1900s). He worked as a sculptor and ex-librist, and later contributed to the Union of Youth's fifth and last exhibitions. First exhibited at his one-man show, Petersburg 1907. Also participated in the "Art in the Life of the Young Child Exhibition" 1908. Established his own art-joinery workshop specializing in wooden toys in the 1900s.

8. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 2, l. 1.

9. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 6.

10. See Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 2, 4-5 and 9. Concerning Zheverzheev, see Chapter Four.

11. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 9: Minutes for Committee Meeting 12 November 1909.

12. Ibid. Konstantin Aleksandrovich Veshchilov (1877-?) studied painting at the Academy of Arts in the early 1900s and showed work at the first "Autumn" exhibition, 1906.

13. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 3.

14. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 1.

15. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 4-5.

16. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 4-5.

17. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 2, l. 24.

18. See published Ustav obshchestva khudozhnikov "Soyuz Molodezhi" Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 2, l. 25-28.

19. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 49, l. 1-6

20. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 49, l. 2.

21. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 49, l. 5-6.

22. Ibid.

23. Matyushin's memoirs "Russkie kubo-futuristy" (N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda (Stockholm) 1976, p. 141), while a useful reference source, are imprecise on the founding of the group.

24. Ibid p. 141.

25. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 3, l. 3.

26. [anon.] Peterburgskaya gazeta No. 5, 6 January 1910, p. 4.

27. Concerning Markov's article, "Russkii Setsession", see below.

28. Concerning the Union of Youth's "Credo" see Chapter Six.

29. The Petersburg "Association of Independents" (Tovarishchestvo nezavisimykh) was founded in 1910 by A. I. Vakhrameev, I. Bespalov, I. Grabovskii, P. S. Dobrynin, M. Dem'yanov, A. M. Lyubimov, A. Mendeleeva and Ya. Chukhrov. It was registered as an official society on 27 April 1910 (Sovremennoe Slovo (Petersburg) No. 830, 28

April 1910, p. 3). Between 1911 and 1916 the Association held exhibitions of painting, graphic art and applied art. Besides the above, participants included: M. Bobyshev, D. Burlyuk, A. Gaush, Yu. Repin, A. Radakov, V. Khodasevich, B. Grigor'ev, E. V. Deters, A. F. Afanas'ev, V. N. Kuchumov, G. K. Savitskii, N. A. Protopopov, A. I. Guretskii and I. A. Puni. Many of these exhibited with the Union of Youth or Triangle. In its regulations the Association stated its aim "to encourage the clarification of the individuality of the artist and to help him in his endeavours to self-determination" (Cited in Lapshin "Razvitie traditsii russkoi zhivopisi XIX veka" Russkaya khudozhestvennaya kul'tura kontsa XIX-nachala XX veka (1908-1917) kniga 4 (Moscow) 1980, p. 57). The Association should not be confused with the more loosely organised Moscow Exhibitions of "Independents". The latter were founded by the artist I. Gorelov in 1907. Participants included: Goncharova, Mitrokhin, A. Kravchenko, Malevich, A. Gerasimov, M. Leblan, S. Noakovskii.

30. The "Non-Aligned Society of Artists" (Vnepartiinoe Obshchestvo khudozhnikov) was founded by the artist E. K. Pskovitinov in 1912. On 30 October 1912 it was registered as a society and published its regulations. The aim of the group was to unite artists "regardless of their approach to art" (Ustav vnepartiinago obshchestva khudozhnikov. St. Petersburg, 1912) and to give members the chance to acquaint the public with their work. Exhibitions were to be held without a panel of judges. By December 1912 the number of members was 150, including artists from all over Russia. In their initial Credo the Non-Aligned Society noted that it had been founded "For the creation of the conditions by which the work of artists, that freely express their creators' experiences and moods, would not meet any obstacles and would be determined only by the moments of personal creativity... We appeal to all of those for whom art is dear, who are interested in its absorption into life, who may take the new society seriously, to abandon isolation for free cooperation and unrestricted searching" (Russkaya molva (St. Petersburg) No. 15, 23 December 1912, p. 6). In the catalogue of the first major exhibition (the group also held small, brief "intimate" exhibitions) were included "Credos" of more than 10 artists, some of which were openly antagonistic (See [anon.] "Vnepartiinaya vystavka" Rech' No. 55, 26 February 1913, p. 5). Participants in the society's exhibitions (1912 to 1915) included I. Yasinskii, Kirillova, Egornov, Kruglikova, Protopopov, Filonov, Kakabadze, Lasson-Spirova, Dobrzhinskii, G. Yakovlev, Shestopalov, Chuiko.

31. The "Arts Association" (Khudozhestvenno-Artisticheskaya Assotsiatsiya) was founded shortly after the Union of Youth. It was registered as a society in Petersburg on 27 April 1910 (see Ustav khudozhestvenno-Artsisticheskoi Assotsiatii (St. Petersburg) 27 April 1910 and Sovremennoe Slovo No. 830, 28 April 1910, p. 3). According to its regulations its aim was the "unification of young artists from all branches of art on the grounds of service to true art and mutual aid in the broad sense of the phrase" (A. Rostislavov, "Pervaya Vystavka Assotsiatsii" Rech' No. 315, 16 November 1912, p. 7). Initiator of the group was the artist Komarov. Although the Association only organised one exhibition

(November 1912) and the ambitious scope of its activities outlined in its Ustav was far from fulfilled, it did arrange several debates (See below, Chapters Seven and Eight, for comparison with the Union of Youth). Exhibitors, who were supposed not to have participated in more than two shows, included Zadkin, Mozalevskii, Novikov, Mayakovsky, D. Burlyuk, Kozik, Lisitskii, V. Yakovlev.

32. The World of Art recommenced its activities after the schism occurred in the Union of Russian Artists in 1910. Its first exhibition opened in Petersburg on 30 December 1910.

33. The "Art Bureau" of Nadezhda Evseevna Dobychina (1884-1949) opened in Petersburg on 28 October 1912. It was the venue for many types of exhibitions, though it favoured the avant-garde, until it closed in 1918. As a commercial enterprise, the bureau aimed to help young artists overcome financial difficulties as well as avoid exploitation by unscrupulous dealers. It also aimed to disseminate the ideas and art of contemporary artists to a far broader cross-section of the public than had hitherto been reached. At the opening exhibition works by such artists as Petrov-Vodkin, Kul'bin, Lentulov, Mitrokhin, Belkin, Baudouin de Courtenay, Re-mi, Miss, Burlyuk, Smelov, Verner, Pskovitinov were shown, together with pictures by Russian masters of the past (e.g. Levitan, Bruni, Venetsianov, Shishkin, Aivazovskii and Lemokh).

34. The "Moscow Salon" was founded in 1910. Its first exhibition opened on 10 February 1911. The aim of the "Salon" was "Tolerance of all beliefs in art... The unification of various directions in painting in one exhibition. This systematic grouping will clarify the principles and ideas that inspire them" (From the catalogue of the first exhibition, Moscow 1911, cited in Lapshin, "Razvitiye traditsii" op.cit. p.58). It continued to organise exhibitions until 1918. Participants included: Goncharova, Konchalovksii, Larionov, Lentulov, Kuznetsov, Klyun, Malevich, Mashkov, Mitrokhin, Sar'yan, Utkin, Fon-Vizin, Shevchenko, Yakulov.

35. The "Free Art" (Svobodnoe Iskusstvo) society began to organise annual exhibitions with the title "Modern Painting" (Sovremennaya Zhivopis') from 1912. Exhibitors included Malevich, Tatlin, Leblan, Manganari, Noakovskii, Kravchenko, Piskarev, Malyutin, Rodchenko.

36. The association "Free Creativity" (Svobodnoe Tvorchestvo) held annual exhibitions from 1911 to 1918. The 1912 list of members included B. Bogolyubov, L. Belkina, N. Vishnevskii, A. Gerasimov, L. Zhukova, V. Sokolov. Exhibitors included Korovin, D. Burlyuk, A. Vasnetsov, Zhukovskii, Nesterov, Shevchenko, the Ballers.

37. Concerning the "Knave of Diamonds" (Bubnovyi Valet), whose first exhibition opened on 10 December 1910, see Chapter Four.

38. Concerning the "Donkey's Tail" (Oslinyi Khvost) see Chapter Five.

39. Ustav Obshchestva khudozhnikov "Soyuz Molodezhi" Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 2, l. 25.

40. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 2, l. 33.

41. [anon.] "Soyuz molodezhi" Rech' No. 56, 26 February 1910, p. 5.

42. [anon.] Novaya Rus' No. 61, 4 March 1910, p. 4.

43. A. Rostislavov, "Levoe khudozhestvo" Rech' No. 85, 28 March 1910, p. 2.

44. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 44, l. 1. This letter is clearly predated by that of 19 February (Kharzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p. 31) in which Markov invited Larionov to participate with a "*carte blanche*". The artist Verner may have been M. E. Verner who participated in Triangle. In any case no Verner exhibited with the Union of Youth.

45. Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 46, l. 1.

46. [anon.] Rech' No. 62, 5 March 1910, p. 5.

47. Mashkov and Goncharova, although already established artists in Moscow, made their Petersburg debuts at the Union of Youth show.

48. According to the catalogue, one of Larionov's sculptures, Dream (cat. 77) was in marble. The other, Wooden Sculpture (cat. 80), presumably that admired by Markov, was a stone baba image, a primitive sculptural form from the Steppes, which both Larionov and Goncharova had been studying for some time (see Vsev. Ch-in. [Cheshikhin] "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II" Rizhskaya mysl' (Riga) No. 871, 28 June 1910, p. 3). Three works by Markov were entitled Wooden Sculpture (cat. 123-125) but were actually paintings of sculptural forms (now in Tukumas Museum, Latvia).

49. [anon.] "Soyuz molodezhi" Zolotoe runo, Nos. 11-12 1909, p. 101.

50. Dubl'-ve, Peterburgskii listok, No. 67, 10 March 1910, p. 2.

51. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Soyuz Molodezhi" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11612, 13 March 1910, p. 6.

52. V. Yanch. [Yanchevetskii], "Khudozhestvennaya khronika", Rossiya No. 1321, 12 March 1910, p. 3.

53. M. S. [Simonovich] "Khudozhestvennaya zhizn' Peterburga", Moskovskii ezhenedel'nik No. 18, 8 May 1910, p. 55.

54. A. Rostislavov, "Svezhie buri" Teatr i iskusstvo No. 14 1910, pp. 297-299.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Evseev exhibited twenty-six works in all. In contrast to his contributions to Triangle at Vilnius, many of his exhibits were stage designs for symbolist plays (Sologub's Vanka Klyuchnik and Pazh Zhean, Rachilde's Mistress Death and Osip Dymov's Nyu). He also showed The Blue Room, Greek costume sketches for a concert by M.A. Verdinskaya (as at the concurrent Triangle exhibition), still-lifes and studies of flowers. One critic noted: "... such areas of colour as he creates, you [the older generation] do not have" (G.M. [Magula] "Tri pokoleniya (Vystavki peredvizhnaya, Soyuz russkikh khudozhnikov i Soyuz molodezhi)" Zemshchina No. 254, 25 March 1910, pp. 3-4.

58. Shleifer's seven contributions included two portraits of unidentified people, Portrait of E.N.B. and Portrait of M.Yu.Zh..

59. Ivan Mitrofanovich Severin (1881-1964) contributed to the first two Union of Youth exhibitions. Born in the Poltava gubernia, he received his art education at the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts where he studied under the landscapist Yan Stanislawski, graduating in 1907. Having studied briefly in Paris and Rome, Severin returned to the Ukraine and lived temporarily in Bukovina region. There he made many studies of Huzul life. The work of his early period reflects a debt to Stanislawski, in the use of expressive, broad brushstrokes in decorative landscapes. He had a one-man exhibition in Kiev in 1911. Severin's contributions to the Union of Youth included From Rome, From the Carpathians, The Cemetary in the Evening, Haystacks, Poltavshchina, and Chrysanthemums.

60. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Soyuz Molodezhi".

61. V. Yanch. "Khudozhestvennaya khronika".

62. Rostislavov "Levoe khudozhestvo".

63. Vasilii Vasil'evich Mate (also known as Iogann-Wilhelm, 1856-1917). Born in East Prussia. Studied at the Petersburg Academy of Arts 1875-1880, taught there 1894-1917. Professor of the studio for graphic art. Also taught at the Baron Stiglitz Institute and Society for the Encouragement of the Arts.

64. V.I. Fedorova, V.V. Mate i ego ucheniki (Moscow) 1982, p. 75.

65. Ibid.

66. Concerning Bystrenin's algraphy see J.F. Kowtun Die Wieder geburt der Kunstlerischen Druckgraphik (Dresden) 1984, pp. 33-34. Bystrenin first exhibited his algraphy works at the 1905 exhibition of the New Society of Artists, Petersburg.

67. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Soyuz Molodezhi".

68. Vrubel died in a Petersburg mental asylum on 1 April 1910.

69. "Pis'ma v redaktsiyu" Rech' No. 91, 3 April 1910, p. 6.

70. See Chapter Six. Vrubel's main critic in the Union of Youth was David Burlyuk, who, as early as 1908, had already dismissed him (see David Burliuk "The Voice of an Impressionist: In Defence of Painting" cited in J. Bowlt ed. Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism (London) 1988, p. 11.

71. This was Filonov's first exhibition.

72. V. Yanch., "Khudozhestvennaya khronika".

73. A. Rostislavov, "Levoe khudozhestvo".

74. Concerning these later works see Chapters Six to Eight.

75. See Chapter Two. While Filonov was probably aware of Kul'bin's ideas no evidence exists of a direct relationship between the two at this stage.

76. The other two artists were Evseev and Vaulin.

77. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Soyuz molodezhi".

78. This was also the title of works by Baudouin de Courtenay in "The Impressionists" 1910 catalogue and that of the first Knave of Diamonds exhibition at the end of the year.

79. Baudouin de Courtenay's Portrait (cat. 12) and Sleeping Girl were found "... beautiful... and promising" by Vrangel' (N. V. "Vystavka 'Soyuza molodezhi'" Apollon. No. 6 1910, p. 38).

80. Rostislavov, "Levoe khudozhestvo".

81. Ibid.

82. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Soyuz molodezhi". This description may be compared with that of Markov's Golgotha shown at the Union of Youth's Riga exhibition (see below).

83. Rostislavov, "Levoe khudozhestvo".

84. V. Yanch., "Khudozhestvennaya khronika".

85. e.g. Rostislavov, "Levoe khudozhestvo", M. S. "Khudozhestvennaya zhizn' Peterburga", N. V. "Vystavka 'Soyuza molodezhi'".

86. Gaush graduated from the Academy in 1899. He was a founder member and secretary of the New Society of Artists (1904-1907), and participated in Union of Russian Artists' exhibitions. First exhibited with the New Society of Artists in 1904. Member of the World of Art from 1911, and keeper of the Museum of Old Petersburg from 1912.

87. See A. R-v. [Rostislavov] "A. F. Gaush" Apollon No. 8, 1913, pp. 16-24.

88. L'vov first studied in N. P. Ul'yanov's studio (1897-1899), then at the Moscow Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture (1900-1902) under S. V. Ivanov and S. A. Korovin. Studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts from 1902, graduating in 1913. First exhibited with the New Society of Artists in 1909. Member of the Union of Youth, the World of Art and later the "4 Arts". Lived in Khabarovsk 1915-1923. Taught at the Moscow Vkhutemas/Vkhutein 1924-1929, and at the Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture 1933-1941. Died in Perm.

89. V. Bubnova "Moi vospominaniya" (unpaginated).

90. N. V. "Vystavka 'Soyuza molodezhi'".

91. Such a conclusion is further encouraged by descriptions of L'vov's contributions to the fourth Union of Youth exhibition in January 1912. Several critics noted and praised the correctness of features and boldness of line that marked the 'academic' qualities of these works. See Chapter Five.

92. Nagubnikov studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts 1910-1914. First exhibited with the Union of Youth, 1910, and contributed to all but one of their exhibitions. Also participated in the exhibitions of the Higher Art Institute at the Academy of Arts (1911-1913) and the World of Art (1913). The 1914 date for his death is provided speculatively by Bubnova (who believed he died in the First World War) in her memoirs ("Moi vospominaniya", unpaginated). It is reinforced by the fact that Nagubnikov did not participate in exhibitions after 1914.

93. Bubnova, "Moi vospominaniya".

94. Rostislavov, "Levoe khudozhestvo".

95. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Rech' No. 23, 24 January 1912, p. 3.

96. During 1913 Larionov and Goncharova directed their energies and attention towards more independent ventures, including the promotion of their own group and artistic ideas.

97. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Soyuz molodezhi". Anna Mikhailovna Zel'manova(-Chudovskaya) first exhibited with the Union of Youth, 1910. Subsequently moved to Petersburg, became a member of the group and hosted meetings of the Russian Futurist poets and their antagonists in her apartment. Also exhibited at World of Art shows.

98. N. V. "Vystavka 'Soyuza molodezhi'".

99. Rostislavov, "Levoe Khudozhestvo".

100. [anon.] "Soyuz molodezhi" Zolotoe Runo, No. 11-12 1909, p. 101.

101. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Soyuz molodezhi".

102. It is debatable whether or not Breshko-Breshkovskii knew of Larionov's Bessarabian origins.

103. Cited in Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p. 30.

104. See for example V. Marcadé, L'Art pictural russe, Lausanne 1971, p. 306; Bowlt (ed.) Russian Art of the Avant Garde, p. 25; and Sternin Khudozhestvennaya zhizn' Rossii 1900-x - 1910-x godov, p. 244, for non-differentiation between the first Petersburg exhibition with the Riga exhibition. I. P. Kozhevnikova Varvara Bubnova: (Russkii khudozhnik v Yaponii, Moscow, 1984, p. 36, mistakenly identifies the Riga exhibition as the first and the 1911 Petersburg exhibition as the second.

105. See S. Cielava, Latviešu Glezniecība buržuāziski demokrātisko revolūciju Posmā 1900-1917 (Riga), p. 194.

106. See Salon Izdebskago (exhibition catalogue) Kiev, 1910 and Salon Izdebskago (exhibition catalogue) St. Petersburg, 1910. The Riga catalogue with 617 entries was printed in Petersburg at the Printing House of F. N. von Al'tshuler. The catalogue for the Petersburg show, with 656 entries, was also printed by Al'tshuler, but as seen from the reviews (e. g. A. R-v. [Rostislavov] "Otkrytie vystavki 'Salon' Rech', No. 107, 21 April 1910, p. 4 and "Salon" Rech', No. 117, 1 May 1910, p. 6) this catalogue alone relates to the Petersburg leg of the Salon tour. The quick selling of works in Petersburg (including those of Van Dongen and Beltrand) was noted a week after the opening: [anon.] "Salon" Novaya rus' No. 114, 28 April 1910, p. 5.

107. Rostislavov, "Salon" Rech' No. 117, 1 May 1910, p. 6.

108. Seventeen works by Larionov appeared in the Union of Youth's catalogue and seven in that of the Izdebskii Salon. Those in both were Sunbath, Walk in a Provincial Town and Provincial Dandy.

109. Both paintings are recent acquisitions of the Russian Museum, Leningrad. Neither are available for reproduction, but cf. Plate 3. 12.

110. See M. Voloshin "Venok" Rus' No. 88, 29 March 1908, p. 3.

111. Tsarevskaya also studied with Tsionglinskii. She went on to achieve recognition as a landscapist, still-life painter and theatrical artist.

112. Vsev. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II".

113. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Inv. no. Zhb-409.

114. Vsev. Ch-in. [Cheshikhin] "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Prilozhenie k Rizhskoi mysli No. 870, 26 June 1910, p. 1. This appears to be the only surviving description of Birth, which was never subsequently exhibited.

115. See Vsev. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi". Petrov-Vodkin's portrait of his wife has previously been considered unexhibited until Petrov-Vodkin's retrospective show in 1936-1937. However Ch-in noted the distinguishing traits of the "olive tone with the very lively eyes" (Ibid.) that give away the "strongest Parisian work of 1907" (I. A. Rusakov Kuz'ma Petrov-Vodkin, Leningrad 1986, p. 19).

116. See Vsev. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

117. Dmitrii Isidorovich Mitrokhin (1883-1973) had become friends with Larionov and Goncharova while studying at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. He had studied in Paris in 1906 and from 1908 lived in Petersburg. The works he displayed with the Union of Youth included The Courtesan, The Jester, The Alphabet as well as vignettes and heraldic motifs. Attracted by the work of Lansere and Ostroumova-Lebedeva, Mitrokhin concentrated on graphic art with literary and retrospective motifs. His participation indicates the breadth of the exhibition and the group's interests in 1910. He never exhibited with the Union of Youth again, appearing instead at the World of Art shows.

117a. Vsev. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

118. According to the catalogue Vladimir Burlyuk showed two still-lifes, two portraits, a landscape and some drawings; David Burlyuk showed three landscapes, a portrait and Horses. No account of these works has been found in the local reviews.

119. Konst. Treilev, "Russkii Setsession" Rizhskii Vestnik No. 156, 13 July 1910, p. 3.

120. Vsev. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II".

121. Most of the works by Baudouin de Courtenay, L'vov, Nagubnikov, Bystrenin, Spandikov, Shleifer and Shkol'nik had been shown in Petersburg, although in Riga they tended to be fewer in number.

122. Concerning Shitov, see Chapter One. Shitov participated in the first Golden Fleece salon, Gaush's and Makovskii's "Wreath", this second Union of Youth show and the 8th exhibition of the New Society (late 1912). Shkol'nik showed five works, including Evening, Grey Day, Twilight and Morning.

123. Vsev. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II".

124. Meister, "Venok" Rus' No. 84, 25 March, p. 4.

125. Kuznetsov's exhibits included Birth of Spring, Vision of a Woman in Childbirth, Morning Song, By the Pool. V. Milioti

described Kuznetsov's vision: "He sees with spiritual eyes... builds a completed habitation... where a vitalised human body melds with atmospheric phenomena, where lyrical attributes serve only as a form for mystical insight." (V. M-i. "O Pavle Kuznetsove (Neskol'ko slov)" Zolotoe runo No. 6, 1908, p. 4, cited in P. Stupples Pavel Kuznetsov (Cambridge) 1989, p. 104.

126. Vsev. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II".

127. Dydyshko began an association with the Union of Youth at Riga that was to continue until the group's final exhibition.

128. Spandikov exhibited some drawings, Fairy Tales and Women, the latter depicting "... unprecedented Papuan mugs in Australian dress." (V. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II").

129. Nikolai Vasil'evich Zaretskii (1876-1959), who had studied with Tsionglinskii, contributed a portrait, a landscape and a sketch to this his only appearance with the Union of Youth. Zaretskii took over from Markov as editor of the art section of the Petersburg journal Vystavochnyi Vestnik in 1907. He subsequently studied in Kardovskii's studio at the Academy. Zaretskii had reputedly previously helped Shchukin with the selection of French modern masters in Paris for his collection (I. Kozhevnikova, Varvara Bubnova, p. 31). Apparently it was he who first showed Bubnova, Markov, Ukhanova and others of the Union of Youth Shchukin's collection (ibid.). In 1906 Zaretskii's vignettes and covers adorned Vystavochnyi Vestnik, showing an inclination towards the styles of Beardsley and Dobuzhinskii. In 1907 similar, if more imaginative, works were reproduced in Zolotoe Runo (Nos. 1 and 2). Also in 1907 he began to exhibit paintings with the New Society of Artists and continued to do so until 1914. His graphic work gained him the reputation of being "quite a little Beardsley" (M. S. [Simonovich] "Vystavka Novago obshchestva khudozhnikov" Rech' No. 47, 24 February, p. 3).

130. Anastasiya Vasilevna Ukhanova (1885-1973) was taught by Tsionglinskii (from 1898) and Kardovskii (1907-1916). She was a close friend of Markov and Bubnova, with whom she travelled to Europe. She contributed just two works to both of the Union's exhibitions in 1910, at least one of which, Christ and the Sinner, continued the mythological trend.

131. Varvara Dmitrievna Bubnova (b. St. Petersburg, 1886, d. Leningrad, 1983). From 1903 studied at the Drawing School of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, and at the Petersburg Academy of Arts from 1907. She graduated in 1914. First exhibited at the Union of Youth's Riga exhibition. Fiancée of Markov. Moved to Moscow 1917 and subsequently worked in Inkhuk. In 1922 moved to Japan. Returned to Sukhumi in 1958 and Leningrad in 1979. Although her role in the Union of Youth was significant, she rarely exhibited with the group and at Riga showed just one still-life.

132. Markov was the son of a couple who ran a buffet at one of the stations in Riga. His father died while he was still young and he was brought up, with two step-sisters and a brother, by his mother (who died in 1908) and step-father. After leaving school in 1895 he studied at the art school of B. Blum in Riga, graduating in 1902. He taught art in a private school in Tukumas, not far from Riga and by 1903 had saved enough money to move to Petersburg. Took lessons from Tsionglinskii and in 1906 entered the Academy of Arts, studying under professors Kiselev and Dubovskoi. Due to graduate in the autumn 1914 but died suddenly of peritonitis on 3 May.

133. Markov only exhibited with the Union of Youth in Petersburg once - in 1910.

134. This quotation is taken from the Russian version of Markov's article "Russkii Setsession (po povodu vystavki "Soyuza molodezhi" v Rige)", Rizhskaya mysl', Riga Nos. 908, 909, 11 and 12 August 1910, p. 3. The article had earlier appeared in Latvian in the newspaper Dzimtenes Vestnesis, Riga, No. 160, 29 July 1910.

135. See Bubnova's introduction to V. Markov, Iskusstvo negrov (Petrograd) 1918, p. 7.

136. Subsequently he showed two paintings at the second Izdebskii salon and three at the Donkey's Tail.

137. The collection of Markov's art in the Museum of Arts, Riga consists of several paintings and more than one hundred studies.

138. T-ii, Rizhskii vestnik No. 278 2 December 1914, p. 3.

139. Treilev, "Russkii Setsession".

140. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II".

141. Treilev, "Russkii Setsession".

142. See above and Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Soyuz molodezhi".

143. Treilev, "Russkii Setsession".

144. W. D. Halls, Maurice Maeterlinck: A Study of his Life and Thought (Oxford), 1960, pp. 31-32.

145. See Footnote 134. Although the Russian version only gave "M" as the author, stating that it was one of the participants in the exhibition, the Latvian version gave both Markov's name and the address of the exhibition (15 Terbatas Street, Riga).

146. M. "Russkii Setsession".

147. Ibid. Markov's use of a 'radium' analogy may have associations with Larionov's subsequent style of Rayism. It is worth remembering that radium was the first natural radioactive element to be

discovered - by the Curies as recently as 1898. Markov apparently had in mind radium's property of spontaneous disintegration which involves the emission of alpha and beta particles and gamma rays.

148. V. Kamenskii Put entuziasta (Perm) 1968, p. 85.

149. M. "Russkii Setsession".

150. Ibid.

151. N. Kul'bin, "Treugol'nik" Salon 2 (Odessa) 1910, p. 19.

152. V. Yanch. [Yanchevetskii] "Vystavka impressionistov Treugol'nik" Rossiya No. 1331, 24 March 1910, p. 4.

153. M. "Russkii Setsession".

154. See Chapter Two. Kul'bin's book Chuvstvitel'nost' [Sensitivity] (St. Petersburg, 1907) outlines ways of measuring sensitivity and temperament.

155. Kul'bin lectured on "Harmony, Dissonance and Close Combinations in Art and Life" at the All-Russian Congress of Artists, 30 December 1911.

156. M. "Russkii Setsession".

157. N. Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo kak osnova zhizni" Studiya impressionistov (St. Petersburg) 1910, p. 8.

158. Kul'bin, "Treugol'nik".

159. Ibid.

160. Ibid.

161. See Chapter Five concerning Markov's "Principles of the New Art" (Soyuz Molodezhi No. 1 and 2, 1912).

162. M. "Russkii Setsession".

163. Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo" op. cit. p. 3.

164. Ibid. p. 4.

165. Ibid. p. 4.

166. Ibid. p. 4.

167. Ibid. p. 4.

168. V. Yanch. "Vystavka impressionistov Treugol'nik".

169. Ibid.

170. M. "Russkii Setsession".

171. Ibid.

172. Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo" op.cit. p.12.

173. Ibid.

174. V. Yanch. "Vystavka impressionistov Treugol'nik".

175. M. "Russkii Setsession".

176. Ibid.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid.

180. Ibid.

181. Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo" op.cit. p.9.

182. M. "Russkii Setsession".

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid.

185. He refers to an exhibition of Buddhist painting and sculpture from the ancient Tibetan city of Hara-Hoto, that took place in Petersburg in spring 1910. Hara-Hoto had been discovered in 1908 by the Russian explorer Petr Kuz'mich Kozlov (1863-1935), leader of a Mongolian-Szechwan expedition in the Gobi desert. Much unique material relating to the Tangut culture was discovered, including painting of Buddhist figures on cloth and books with unusual heiroglyphic writing.

186. M. "Russkii Setsession".

187. K. Jensen, Russian Futurism. Urbanism and Elena Guro. (Aarhus) 1977, p.188.

188. M. "Russkii Setsession".

189. Ibid.

190. It should also be noted that Ekster contributed three works, which included Boats (cat.219): "... a sea of blues with lively, but speckled and childishly drawn, little boats." (V. Ch-in. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi II".

CHAPTER FOUR: THE 1910 - 1911 SEASON

"KHOROMNYYA DEISTVA" AND THE THIRD UNION OF YOUTH EXHIBITION

Between the closing date of the Union of Youth's Riga exhibition (8 August 1910) and the opening of its subsequent Petersburg show (11 April 1911) there were many significant events in the history of the Russian avant-garde. The World of Art had resumed its activities and invited members of the younger generation (e.g. Goncharova, Sar'yan and Sapunov) to participate in its exhibitions. An exhibition known as "The Knave of Diamonds" (Moscow, December 1910 to January 1911) heralded the founding of a society of the same name. The newly founded "Moscow Salon" had held its first exhibition (February to March 1911) and the second Izdebskii Salon had opened in Odessa in February.[1]

As far as the Union of Youth was concerned, some of its members (Filonov, Shkol'nik, Spandikov and Shleifer) had visited Helsingfors (Helsinki) in late November with the aim of forming a union with young Finnish artists and organising a joint exhibition with them.[2] Also in November a general meeting of the group had voted unanimously to establish a "Circle of Lovers of the Fine Arts, under the auspices of the Society of Artists 'The Union of Youth'".[3] This club was to have its own art museum, a library of art books, and to organise evenings in the museum and library for communal drawing, painting and sculpture, as well as discussion of art. Such ideas are clearly not dissimilar to those expressed at the founding of the Union of Youth and again stress the desire for mutual development of artists. It is not certain whether such a

museum and library ever existed, although Zheverzheev built up a considerable collection of books, paintings and theatrical designs, that could have taken their place.[4] All the more so since his home was the official premises of the Union of Youth and venue for most of their meetings.

Zheverzheev's patronage of the Union of Youth has often been mentioned[5], but his influence on its artistic direction has remained something of an enigma. In fact this influence was great and came not only from his ability to provide facilities and financial resources but also from his ideas. For instance, in early 1911 he was instrumental in the innovative conception of the Union of Youth's first theatrical venture, "Khoromnyya Deistva".[6] After graduating from a Petersburg college of commerce in 1899, Zheverzheev began to supervise the art work at his father's brocade and ecclesiastical utensil factory. The products of this factory were sold in the Zheverzheevs' large shop on Nevskii Prospekt and it was from this that the family gained much of their wealth. However, Levkii Ivanovich was interested in helping the cause of modern art and he devoted much of his time, money and organisational talents to the Union of Youth. Although Markov later complained of Zheverzheev's meanness and lack of support in the publication of his essays[7], his patronage was deemed indispensible. Soon after being invited to join the group, he was elected president - a position he held until the Union of Youth closed.

Zheverzheev had his own conception of the essence of the Union

of Youth, broadly in line with that expressed by the founding members:

> He [Zheverzheev] saw it as a creative union, the doors of which were opened wide for all new artists, as long as they were not traditionalists and were talented. Free from any sectarian narrowness and not afraid of reproofs for eclecticness, it was to give the youth that which was insufficient in their generation - an atmosphere of benevolent cohesion and a co-ordination of effort. It was to be an experimental laboratory of modern art; a large camp, well-fortified against any enemy attacks.[8]

He contributed to the first two exhibitions of the group and produced costume sketches for "Khoromnyya Deistva". All of the work Zheverzheev exhibited was applied art - brocaded cloths, screens and cushions - and in this it was exceptional (Vaulin's decorative tiles and vases at the first Union of Youth exhibition were the only other examples of appliqué). Made "according to original Tibetan and ancient French designs"[9] his brocade showed:

> wonderful colours and wonderful design... making us remember the magnificent garments of Catherine's metropolitans that decorate the museum of the Aleksandr Nevskii monastery. The combination of gold and silver, with cherry, green and blue is remarkable in its consistency.[10]

Using the study of brocade design essential for his profession, Zheverzheev was able to combine rich colour and traditional folk design, as if in keeping with the plastic searches of the easel painters.

Khoromnyya Deistva[11]

Zheverzheev's input into the Union of Youth was not primarily through his own art but through his interest in painting and theatre.[12] In early 1911 he directed the group's attention towards the theatre where he sought, as in painting, innovation based on

ancient forms. The first theatrical venture staged by the group, "Khoromnyya Deistva", opened on 27 January 1911 in the halls of the Suvorin Theatrical School. This location was ideal for the evening because various entertainments took place simultaneously in separate halls. The evening was in fact so successful that public demand meant that it was soon repeated and later on in the year it was also taken to Moscow by its director Mikhail Bonch-Tomashevskii.[13] Also, afterwards, Union of Youth artists found work with permanent theatre companies. So Bystrenin, almost immediately, began to work for the Troitskii Theatre and then for the Liteinyi Theatre, and ceased exhibiting with the group. Others, like Shleifer, who was commissioned for work at the Troitskii in 1912 and from 1915 worked at the Liteinyi, stayed with the Union of Youth.

With Zheverzheev's prompting and initiative, theatrical design entered the consciousness of many Union of Youth artists. While some members, especially those who were students at the Academy, such as Markov, Dydyshko, L'vov and Nagubnikov, apparently preferred not to become involved, others saw theatrical work as an integral branch of painting and one where their experiments could be taken in new directions, away from the two-dimensional limitations of easel painting. Those who participated were: Sagaidachnyi, Le-Dantyu, Verkhovskii, Gaush, Baller, Spandikov, Shleifer, Shkol'nik, Bystrenin, Zel'manova and Baudouin de Courtenay; most of whom had not previously worked in the theatre. Thus the occasion served as an introduction of the new generation of 'left' artists to dramatic design and ideas.

Modern historians[14] have been quick to point out, on the evidence of one critic, that the evening involved the use of a new, deliberately crude, theatrical style: "bad taste in costumes, absence of footlights, free passage of actors from stage to audience, walls decorated with posters, and barrels instead of chairs in the buffet".[15] There has, however, been no attempt to assess the contribution of the "Khoromnyya Deistva" as regards the development of the Union of Youth or to examine the content, which necessarily influenced its form.

Ihe whole staging of "Khoromnyya Deistva" can be seen as a legitimate and integral part of the Neo-Primitivist movement that was then beginning to dominate Russian modernism. The nationalism and archaism of this movement was vividly represented in the performance of "Khoromnyya Deistva". The evening brought new ideas to the fore, that were to affect not only the nature of future (and Futurist) theatrical production in Russia, but also the nature of painting. It was one of the first steps in the fusion of modern visual and literary art forms in Russia called for by Kul'bin and started in his "performance-art" lectures. The cover of Kul'bin's The Studio of Impressionists (Plate 4.1) had the letters of "Studiya" created out of skomorokhi-type figures (minstrels, actors, jugglers and dancers) in clear imitation of fourteenth century Novgorodian or Pskovian psalter and liturgicon initials[16] (Plate 4.2) and represent his call for a unified art. Even though these travelling entertainers were essentially pagan, often leaders of cult ceremonies, they became so popular in North Russia by the fourteenth century that they were depicted as illuminations in

Christian books.

The skomorokhi were symbols for much of what Kul'bin sought in art. Originating as Eastern Slavs in the pre-Christian era of Kievan Rus' the skomorokhi were not only indigenous to Russian lands but also made essential contributions to native art forms. Such forms were often fused in cylical festivals and rites but it is worth identifying them separately. Their songs, sung to the accompaniment of stringed, wind and percussion instruments (predominantly the gusli, horns and tambourine respectively), were often of a ritualistic and worshipping nature. They were closely related to the seasons and cycles of nature and were characterized by free rhythms, simple melodies, basically diatonic and often repeated. As far as dance was concerned, the skomorokhi often led the khorovod, or circle dance[17], which communities performed as a ritual to invoke the spirits for a good harvest, in other words they acted as a means of communication between man and nature. The skomorokhi's contribution to drama (besides their trained bear acts and later use of puppet theatre) is less clear, although it is known that they took a leading part in the seasonal festivals and wedding rites - which took the form of a community folk drama - often wearing animal masks or playing the jester. Their improvisation of comic dialogue eventually developed into folk comedies. These, "in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries... came under considerable influence from scholastic and court drama, which result ultimately in the creation of such legitimate folk plays as Tsar Maksimilian."[18]

The flamboyant and brightly coloured costumes of the

skomorokhi, and the versatility of their repertoire, had offered medieval Old Slavonic illuminators a broad range of artistic possibilities for initials in religious texts. Equally, Kul'bin and, more significantly, the Union of Youth were to use them as source material for even more diverse forms of art. Judging by the dating of some of the costume designs for "Khoromnyya Deistva", the idea occurred first in 1910 (designs by Mizernyuk[19], Zheverzheev and Baudouin de Courtenay dated 1910 survive). This then coincides with the dissemination of Kul'bin's ideas and Evreinov's theory of monodrama, where the literary tradition of high drama had been broached by an increase in the significance of body language, correlatory shifts in the nature of the surroundings and the spectator was turned into an illusionary perfomer, going through the same experiences as the actor.

In 1909 Evreinov had become chief producer at "The Crooked Mirror" [Krivoe Zerkalo][20] and put on a series of burlesques, pantomimes and satires, parodying the extreme realism of Stanislavskii. Furthermore, 1910 had also seen the opening of "The House of Interludes" [Dom Intermedii] in St. Petersburg.[21] Here Meierkhol'd and Pronin experimented with interludes performed amidst the public, the applying of make-up in the auditorium and the 'casting' of the audience, as in the production of Znosko-Borovskii's play "The Converted Prince" where they became visitors to a Spanish bar. Thus the reaction against the stagnant naturalism and the symbolism of the Russian theatre had already been made public.

This reaction had, however, really begun at the end of 1906

when Meierkhol'd staged Blok's "Balaganchik" (the Union of Youth evening was sometimes referred to as "Tragicheskii balagan" or "Tragic Low Farce").[22] Blok's play was a parody of symbolist theatre, but it also initiated the move to a neo-primitive theatre based on native forms. "Khoromnyya Deistva" employed similar sources, although it searched deeper into Russian history for its content and form. Indeed, Blok, while retaining the "Balaganchik" title of his play[23] focused attention on foreign 'low' theatre - primarily on Italian *commedia dell'arte*. Blok's play used the harlequinade and its associations with the marionette theatre. He not only resorted to old motifs (e.g. buffoonery) but also revived old techniques (a play within a play, the use of masks, improvisation and pantomime, actors addressing the audience directly, the author represented in the play, moving scenery in full view of the audience).

Blok, like Evreinov at the Theatre of Antiquity (where he worked in 1908) and The Crooked Mirror, really found no native historical precedent for his ideas of theatricality. Although the symbolists (such as Remizov in his "Devil Play" [Besovskoe Deistvo] of 1907[24]), had searched Russian folklore for sources for their own dramas, on the whole they, like Blok, Meierkhol'd and Evreinov, sought to modernise the Russian theatre using European models. Leonid Andreev's medievalism also epitomised this preference for Europe (e.g. "Black Masks" [Chernye Maski], of 1908, is set in Italy). The House of Interludes, which opened under Meierkhol'd's direction on 9 October 1910, continued this persuasion, with a cabaret theatre of farce and pantomime (including works by

Schnitzler, Cervantes and Kuzmin).

It was at the House of Interludes that "Tsar Maksem'yan" was first intended to be staged. A notice was published stating that a performance of the Russian folk play was to be given, together with "Don Juan", during the Christmas holiday period and, significantly, that the action would be "performed on stages amidst the public".[25] As part of the programme various artists of the House of Interludes were to perform solo numbers among the public and on the stage. No details were given and no reports of the performance of "Tsar Maksem'yan" have survived.

It remains uncertain whether or not the Union of Youth revival of "Tsar Maksemy'an" on 27 January 1911 was the first modernist performance in St. Petersburg. It seems likely, however, that it was, for the reviews of the Union of Youth's evening imply that the play had long been forgotten by the Petersburg public. The idea of staging the medieval play had originally occurred to the Union of Youth's organisers sometime in 1910.[26] It is perhaps ironic that the Union of Youth, whose name was taken from Ibsen's play (last performed in St. Petersburg in October 1907) about provincial Norwegian life, written in Dresden in 1868, sought to break away from the European cultural stranglehold, while Blok, who incidentally praised Ibsen as the "last great dramatist of Europe"[27], stressed native roots in his "Balaganchik" title and yet was far more reliant on Europe for his content and form.

"Khoromnyya Deistva" was important in the process of Neo-Primitivism that was beginning to dominate the cultural spheres of Petersburg. The search for, and use of, indigenous forms, is

indicative of the artistic youth's newly acquired aspiration for independence from Europe. Certain Abramtsevo artists such as Elena Polenova (hailed by Kul'bin as the greatest Russian artist[28]) and Viktor Vasnetsov[29] had, towards the end of the nineteenth century, used motifs from Russian folklore, but they restricted themselves to the pictorial representation of myth and fairy-tales. "Khoromnyya Deistva" was exceptional for 'high' theatre. Although not overtly nationalistic, it helped establish the new nationalist inspired Neo-Primitivist movement in Russia. This subsequently made possible a dramatic new spatial dynamism.[30] It had far reaching effects on the development of stage design and on the very essence of painting.

The formal revolution that the Union of Youth began with "Tsar Maksem'yan" was heavily reliant, like the World of Art had been in its retrospectivism and like Larionov and Goncharova were in their Neo-Primitivist canvases, on the careful study of historical precedent. The text is important but the formal qualities of the set, costumes and music were more significant. Here, all comments apply to the evening of 27 January rather than the later performances in the House of Interludes (17 to 20 February 1911), where "Tsar Maksem'yan", instead of being accompanied by "Folk Dance Whims with the Public", was accompanied by Cervantes' "The Jealous Old Man", as if in deference to the structural limitations of the venue and its European character.

a) Folk Dance Whims etc.

Essentially "Khoromnyya Deistva" consisted of four parts. The

first and main part was taken by the folk play "Tsar Maksem'yan and his Disobedient Son Adolf". Then followed the "Folk Dance Whims", the "Champagnia" and the "Beer-Bar of Mr. Gambrinus". Little is known of the content of these, but it seems that they were largely based on a medley of traditional Russian folk dances and games, and a parody of European high and low culture. The public took part in all these activities, having first been invited to the specially decorated (by Shleifer and Baudouin de Courtenay) "make up" room to receive their domino costumes and masks. The Union of Youth insisted that everyone who did not don costumes and masks leave the hall and not "interfere with the general merry-making."[31]

A great variety of events took place more or less simultaneously. Loud cannons fired showers of confetti. One critic found this overwhelming: "..the main role in the whims, in all fairness must be ascribed to the calico and coloured paper."[32] The merry-making was led by "lovable devils, the masters-of-ceremonies".[33] These evil spirits and dancers consisted of "masked boyars, town dwellers, wood goblins, water-sprites, skomorokhi, gravediggers, warriors, courtiers, drummers... envoys... and... chanticleers".[34] There were "elephants... closed capuchin-hoods"[35] and "our own Russian devils with ludicrous tails".[36] All took part in the round dances. Shaman dances and the dance of "the fantastic little people"[37] were performed by specially invited anonymous ballet dancers. "The Success of the Poteshny Regiment"[38] and the "Promenade of Joy"[39] were also enacted amidst the dancing public. In place of a stage was an elevated area with a brightly illuminated arch.

In the other halls the "Champagnia" and "Beer-Bar of Mr. Gambrinus" took place. Besides the drinking in the beer-bar the "remarkable" Spaniard Ridaldi Ramacleros sang, standing on a barrel and the "Spanish and Italian Villian-Temptresses" (two Russian ladies, Ms. Volskaya and Ms. Sheftel) sang folk songs. The decorations of the room were designed by Verkovskii. The vocal quartet of Messrs. Alekseevskii, Lenskii, Livanskii and Konstantinovskii sang in the "Champagnia" (a hall decorated by Gaush and Shkol'nik). Ballet dancers danced minuets. Other performances, "gripping the public"[40] were: shamanistic dances; the "Vortexes of the Green Dragons" and the "White Elephants together with the Red Devils"; "Cupid and Amourica"; and "The Couriers of Love". The music for the dances was written by the young composer Adrian Shaposhnikov[41], and although it has not survived it seems to have been as original as the dances: "The music and the dances produced a most fascinating impression".[42]

Verkovskii's designs for the walls of "The Beer-Bar of Mr. Gambrinus" have survived.[43] These frieze-like sketches depict primitive, lubok figures in dramatic poses. In the first a man rides a pig, a woman holds a fan, another man clothed in a red cape holds up a chalice-like cup. Next to the latter is a pot, presumably containing beer, and then, by another pig, a dramatic male figure wearing black tights and in a blue hat set askance. To his right is an older man, also holding a beer-pot and beyond him a woman holds a pot from which the drink is poured. Above these figures is an emblem with a partly illegible inscription in German: "EINMALSAVEAZE BRECHEN APS VIV" (Once....to break...).

The second sketch also contains figures in striking poses and more pigs. There is a brightly dressed woman holding what looks like a reed, a youth arching his back, an old man with a white beard and broad black hat sitting cross-legged; a golden goblet; a comely courtesan; and finally on the far right another woman, in a sweeping dress holding a goblet. Above the central figure of the old man is the inscription "AQVA VITAE" (i.e. the water of life: alcohol). The figures are fairly separate despite their mutual activity. The simple, naive depiction is also very much in tune with current developments.

Gambrinus (1251-1294) was the duke of Brabant, now part of the Netherlands and Belgium, and is reputed to be the inventor of lager. The choice of Gambrinus's beer-bar as the scene for various amusements at first seems curious, especially as it was so obviously European and not Russian. But the bawdy entertainment that occurred in the bar complemented the medley of primitive and decadent activities of the evening and particularly the Russian and main part of the evening, "Tsar Maksem'yan". In such a context the Russian folk play was seen as a relatively sophisticated and sincere counterpart to the more frivolous European entertainments. The secularity of the scenes, the emphasis on man's baser instincts, however vulgar or refined (i.e. pigs, beer and standing on barrels in the beer-bar, elegant ladies, champagne and graceful seventeenth century French dances in the Champagnia), contrasts with the moral and religious issues raised by "Tsar Maksemyan".

It is not clear, however, whether the Union of Youth's main aim was to contrast these aspects of historical European culture

with an example of indigenous Russian culture. Indeed, any nationalist tendencies in the evening were implicit rather than explicit. Certainly the variety of acts in the latter part of the evening was conceived as a creative whole, and the inclusion of shamanism and skomorokhi belies any concern with the moral superiority of the Russian people. What seems to have been of essential importance to the organisers was the integrity of the cultural activities of various nations and the desire to present this as a bright, joyful medley of folk entertainments. The absence of a stage, and the costuming of the public added to that colourful whole and "created an atmosphere of unity, of sincere-communal creativity."[44] The novelty of "Khoromnyya Deistva" essentially comprised a rejection of contemporary theatre and technique. The return to traditional folk methods and acts served to highlight the desire for change and formal innovation. The limitations of 'high' theatre and its 'professionalism' were attacked in all respects, not least by the use of amateur players.

b) Tsar Maksem'yan and his Disobedient Son Adolf

1. Content

"Tsar Maksem'yan" is by no means a conventional play; although it has a plot, it is not a single unified drama but a collection of scenes. These do not necessarily develop from one another, but focus around a central theme: namely the religious conflict between the Tsar and his son. The story is not complex. Many variants of the play are known but the Union of Youth used a specially written text by the "young author V. Spektorskii".[45]

The fabled Tsar, under the spell of passion for the pagan Venus (Venera) decides to give up his faith and worship his bride's idols (only if he does so will Venus consent to marry him). Maksem'yan's son from his first marriage, Prince Adolf, retains his belief in the Orthodox church, to the outrage of his father. The Tsar has Adolf put in chains by a blacksmith, thrown in a dungeon and then executed by the sword of the aged knight Brambeus. This happens despite the entreaties of the Mohammedan envoy and the threats of the 'noble' Roman ambassador, who, indignant at the injustice, approached the Tsar only to be driven away by mighty Anika the Warrior (only Death can defeat Anika - a popular figure in Russian folk mythology). Inevitably, Death appears and throws the apostate Tsar Maksem'yan into the abyss, even though he begs to live - at first for three years, then a year, then three months and finally one minute. A colourful cock, as a vagrant, poet and emblem of the dawning of life, clambers up on to the throne and welcomes with a loud cock-a-doodle-do the rebirth of dawn, the sunrise and a new life. And thus the tragedy ends.

While this sequence of events appears straightforward enough, it is interrupted by a series of unexpected 'interludes'. These include the arrival of the skorokhod-marshal (apparently summoned by Maksem'yan and thrashed for some unknown crime), the games and dances of the skomorokhi, the recalcitrant and grumbling old gravedigger and his wife Matrena, and the music of the fife player. The actual activity of these characters went unreported in the reviews but in general they served as comic and serious relief from the main story of the play. Some interludes were tenuously linked with the plot while others appear independent of it. Remizov has described their function:

> With the appearance of the eccentrics the interludes start. ... the eccentrics are irrepressible... and worm their way into the action. | And apparently break up the structure of the play. But in fact it is the converse of this: with their disorder they construct a new special tune - the tune of tiresome presences and jest making. Moreover, the appearance of the eccentrics in the action, like the reiterations and the repetitiveness of the Skorokhod, introduces its own measure of time - their appearances and words are like the movement of the hand of a watch or the strike of the clock...[46]

All of the action is in accordance with other known variants of the play[47], although there seems to have been less emphasis on the violence of the second part of "Tsar Maksem'yan" (after the martyrdom of Adolf), where traditionally there was a series of duels involving Anika the Warrior, and much unexplained beating and quarrelling. Essentially, the morality of the play remains the same - two opposing elements, embodied in Maksem'yan and Adolf, mark the struggle between Christian humility and evil power; virtue and vice. Virtue, the meek Adolf, martyred for his beliefs, emerges as the hero while vice is punished by death and damnation.

Remizov noted:

> The basis of "Tsar Maksimilian" is the Passion of the disobedient Tsarevich, tormented for his beliefs by his own father, the pagan and impious Tsar... Tsar Maksimilian - this is Tsar Ivan and Tsar Peter. The disobedient and recalcitrant Adolf - this is Tsarevich Aleksei and the whole Russian nation.[48]

2. Form

The formal elements of the Union of Youth's production of "Tsar Maksem'yan" were the most important aspects of the spectacle. The folk costumes, decorations, audience involvement, music and acting techniques all contributed to create a piece of dramatic performance unprecedented in Russian high theatre. It was to have important consequences, not least for the Union of Youth's artists and their future dramatic projects. Thus the absurd cock announcing the "rise of the usual sun"[49] i.e. the return to decent, normal life and values, at the end of "Tsar Maksem'yan" cohesively links the performance with the Futurist opera "Victory over the Sun" of 1913, where the Aviator appears at the end, replacing the cock but at the same time contradicting its call for a return to normality.[50] The cock is also present in "Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy" produced by the Union of Youth at the same time as "Victory over the Sun" which like the latter and "Khoromnyya Deistva" generally denied the conventions of high theatre.

The decorations were principally designed by Sagaidachnyi, who was in overall charge of the artistic work.[51] The costumes were designed by Mikhail Vasil'evich Le-Dantyu (1891-1917), assisted by other Union of Youth artists. The music was written by M.P. Rechkunov[52] and the director of the production was Tomashevskii.

The play began with the sounds of a horn, a drum and the song of a cock. Simultaneously there appeared from among the public a festive procession which made its way to the "specially constructed balagan stage"[53] (a stepped wooden platform) for the actors. At one end of these boards was the fantastic throne of Tsar Maksem'yan and at the other that of Venus. On the surrounding walls of the hall were "Byzantine frescoes 'in the Russian manner'".[54] The critic Per-O pointed out: "Everything was so new and so original and at the same time familiar because of its Suzdal-lubok-like Byzantinism."[55] Rostislavov, found the novelty lay not only in the production itself but also in the unity of the "Byzantinism with the chivalrous romanticism, the Shakespearean conciseness and beauty with the scenic naivety (almost all of the participants are "summoned") and the originality of the Russian speech".[56]

As the play had been performed in a variety of ways at different times (it had even been part of the Vertep, the Russian puppet theatre), Tomashevskii had to choose the most appropriate manner for the given circumstances. One of the most significant decisions concerned the public's involvement. In contrast with earlier times, the Petersburg public of 1911, was alienated from the action, not only because performances of such plays and the skomorokhi had all but ceased but also because theatre had become a more strictly defined, sophisticated and urban phenomenon. So Tomashevskii decided to "convert" the public, as far as possible, into the original spectator folk, to make them a part of the historical scene. According to Kamyshnikov he succeeded in doing this "almost irreproachably".[57]

The raised boards in the centre of the hall, dominated by the brightly illuminated arch and the throne of Tsar Maksem'yan, at the top of a broad staircase on which the action took place, attracted much attention. A sketch of it, apparently by Sagaidachnyi, survives.[58] The centrally positioned throne upon which the Tsar sits surmounts a flight of five green and pink stairs. The throne itself is green and yellow. On either side of Maksem'yan stand two courtiers with pikes, below are more servants, two female dancers and a lady sprawled at the Tsar's feet. The walls are highly decorated. The left hand wall is covered by a plant form and two medieval windows, while the right side has an ornate door, above which is a strangely speckled picture of what seems to be a dog. Indistinct frieze-like decorations frame the left and right sides of the sketch. The colours are muted - green, red, turquoise and grey. Unfortunately the designs for the wall paintings seem to have been lost, but contemporary descriptions survive:

> Before the spectators appeared the epoch of sixteenth and seventeenth century Russian theatre, with its primitive, yet artistically true, requirements... The decor was in complete harmony with this epoch... to which "Khoromnyya Deistva" belonged... Everything was finished in the Slavonic style. Simple, but odd, decorations had colourful original inscriptions, like "Love is a Delightful Pursuit".[59]

The brightly coloured primitivism of the wall 'scenery' attracted the eye and praise of many critics who were impressed and intrigued by its originality:

> The hall had a completely unusual look, covered with curious scenes and a panel by the artist Sagaidachnyi. This panel immediately carries one to to some special fabulous and fantastical age; the furniture was elegantly set out in semi-circles so that the performers could make their appearance...[60];

and "The artists proved to be at the height of creativity in the costumes and decorated walls designed according to old lubok images. They carried in them the freshness of folk art."[61] The naivety of the images, and the bright colours of the "calico and coloured paper, created with size paint in a few hours of energetic work"[62] recreated the "distinctive style of the Russian lubok".[63]

However, Kamyshnikov felt the folk tragedy required more "tinselness" and gold colour.[64] Such criticism was almost certainly directed more at the costume designs and props than the wall paintings which seem to represent a very early, direct use of the Russian lubok by modern artists (perhaps only presaged by Larionov's and Goncharova's painterly exploration of the folk images). Descriptions of the materials and colours of props and costumes, dating from original performances of the play in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, make it clear that the Union of Youth observed tradition: "... anything that came to hand, was used in the construction of costumes... odd pieces of wood for swords; cardboard... scraps of coloured materials, oddments of sheepskin or fur for beards... straw... coloured paper".[65] Gold and silver tinsel was undoubtedly also used, for example, in the Tsar's sceptre and orb, but not to the extent Kamyshnikov maintained.

Generally, the costumes also were admired by the critics for their imagination and truth, although to talk about historical accuracy can be misleading since the play is "a confusing jumble of elements traceable to a wide variety of sources."[66] The cartoonist P'er-O noted that the participants were made interesting through

"their original make-up and caricature costumes".[67] Abundant sketches survive and contemporary reports indicate the effectiveness of the costumes, their success and innovation. Unfortunately, many of the drawings are extremely 'sketchy' and give no real indication as to the final appearance of the costumes. There are also notable ommissions - there is, for instance, no detailed sketch of the Tsar's costume. Nevertheless, the surviving sketches make a valuable contribution to the historical reconstruction of the occasion.[68]

The figure of Tsar Maksem'yan, at once a sympathetic lover and a murderous tyrant, was "large, with a huge, wavy beard, and in bright robes".[68(a)] He held two symbolic objects - "in one hand there was something in the form of a golden Easter cake[69] with a cock on top, and in the other, in the form of a sceptre, a simple staff with a cock. Obviously this "'*symbole de la vigilance*' was the most significant figure in the curious kingdom."[70] Apparently, Sagaidachnyi was responsible for the Tsar's appearance. In one rough sketch[71] the Tsar sits on his throne with his crown and orb, wearing brightly coloured clothes - a fine red jacket and blue breeches. But there is no real sense of the military uniform that the Tsar wore in many (but not all) traditional variants.[72] Similarly the attributes of crown (mitre-like in this case), orb and sceptre have features distinguishing them from the traditional forms. The repetition of the cock symbol on both the orb and sceptre appears to be a creation of the Union of Youth artists. Descriptions of such royal regalia refer to them being topped by stars rather than a cock.[73] Whether this was artistic licence on

the part of the Union of Youth or simply the use of a more obscure text remains unclear. What is obvious is that the cock was a more provocative symbol than the star.

Deeply entrenched in folklore, the cock, a favourite image of the lubok, had been representative not only of the vigilant but also of the persecuted and the dawn.[74] Its unexpected appearance in the Union of Youth's "Tsar Maksem'yan" has this threefold significance simultaneously. In the first place it represented the Tsar's guard against his enemies. Secondly, as the lifesize image rising up at the end of the play over the dead Tsar to herald the return to normal life, it fulfilled the dual function of symbolising the future victory of the persecuted and the dawning of the new day and new life.

There is an element of the absurd about the Union of Youth's cock. According to a cast list[75] Sagaidachnyi played the cock, its appearance being described as "magnificent" and one of "quite charming unexpectedness".[76] Two costume sketches survive - by Sagaidachnyi and Spandikov. In the former[77] the cock has yellow spurs, while Spandikov[78] gives it red legs and claws, green wings, a blue breast, a beak that resembles a hooked nose and a large red plumed hat. There does not seem to be a historical source for these costumes, although they do have a naive simplicity reminiscent of the lubok or fairy-tale illustrations. Presaging the "Victory over the Sun" three years later, the lasting impression created by the appearance of the flamboyantly and absurdly dressed cock at the end of the tragedy, is that of the artists presenting a new vision to the world. The cock, as in

Rimskii-Korsakov's Golden Cockerel, will not serve a corrupt master and however weak will always try to overcome evil with good.

The appearance of Anika the Warrior and Death was based on the medieval tale "The Contest between Life and Death". Indeed, Anika was the frequent subject of medieval folk tales and legends, songs and poems as well as lubki. However, even here there is an unusual element in the Union of Youth's version. Usually Anika, the brave and boastful warrior, is met by the white-robed female figure of Death who kills hims with her scythe despite his cries for mercy and pleas for moments to live. The Union of Youth avoid this conflict. Instead it is the Tsar who succumbs to Death despite pleas for mercy and time to live. In this instance, unlike the cock symbols and scene, the action is not the invention of the group, but is taken from one of "the few versions of Tsar Maksimilian in which it is the tsar himself who is killed by Death rather than Anika."[79] These versions, had taken this scene from an analogous scene in the vertep theatre "where Herod is felled by a mocking Death for all his wickedness."[80]

The costume sketches of the two characters are by Verkhovskii. There are two variants of "Anika", both reasonably finished. In the first[81] the bearded warrior holds a pike, wears a round blue hat, a red jacket with blue buckle, green breeches and pink and blue stripped stockings. The second sketch[82] is a much more dynamic depiction of a warrior with shield and sword. Now his hat is long and curving with a jagged edge. He wears high boots and a red jacket with green borders. Whichever was ultimately chosen, the source of Verkhovskii's Anika image was probably a lubok.

Certainly this was the case with his image of Death[83]. Rather than depicting a woman in white robes carrying a scythe, Verkhovskii's figure is male, small and naked. He has a very long tongue and on his back is an oblong bag with a crossweave pattern. In this bag are spears, saws and arrows. The grotesque little figure is remarkably close in outward appearance to the figure of Death in the lubok Anika the Warrior and Death (Plate 4.3). Even the distorted profile and the flattened space of the drawing are similar and reveal the artist's preference for the folk print rather than the traditional dramatic form. Once again the Union of Youth's free interpretation of historical precedent and concern with the lubok appears essentially Neo-Primitivist.

Some other designs are also worth mentioning. Gaush's sketches were mainly of courtiers in brightly decorative dress. Apparently they were created in 1910[84] but not used for the January 1911 performance. Of all the artists, Gaush seems to be least attracted to primitivism and possibly found a more suitable outlet for his aesthetic preferences in the decoration of the Champagnia room. Three costume sketches by Baller survive: a turbaned guard, a relative of Venus, and a pipe player. The latter, which is inscribed 'unrealised', depicts a highly simplified figure in a long yellow robe and yellow hat blowing a long pipe. Bystrenin contributed two pencil sketches of the pagan throne of Venus, depicting a palace with trees and solid, round clouds. The word "Anton" is written above the palace signifying the name of the city where the action takes place. Shleifer, who was responsible for the decoration of the "Make-Up Room", has left various rough pencil

sketches, many of which depict medieval musicians. Some of these include grotesque primitive elements, such as over-large lozenge-shaped eyes staring out from flat, profiled heads. The skorokhod-marshal is portrayed as an athletic young man with a sword and dagger.[85]

The more important sketches belong to Le-Dantyu, Sagaidachnyi and Spandikov and show a free interpretation of their subject. Of the sixteen pencil and watercolour sketches attributed to Le-Dantyu there are various dynamic dancers, drawn with an Eastern exoticism and subdued colour. They vary in style from rough pencilled images to accurate 'classical' watercolours. His work includes sketches of the Gravedigger and his wife - the bearded old man is depicted in patched brown clothes with a yellow pointed hat and a spade. While this foolish-peasant image in part coincides with that described in early texts[86] he lacks the hunchback traditionally ascribed him.

The appearance of Le-Dantyu's work, which included a very rough sketch of a violin player in a red jacket with blue breeches and white stockings and one of Venus wearing a blue robe, red breeches and a crown, give little indication of his artistic persuasions. Yet, his position in charge of costume design, shows that in early 1911 he was working closely with Union of Youth members.[87] Furthermore, possibly influenced by his experience of "Khoromnyya Deistva", Le-Dantyu wrote an unpublished essay the following year on "Active Performance"[88] in which he proposed a new synthetic theatre, not dissimilar to Evreinov's monodrama. His idea was that the movements of the actor should coincide with the

painted stage designs, the music and words, to actively, rather than passively, influence the spectator. Similar ideas were expressed by Larionov, who Le-Dantyu was to join at the end of 1911, concerning his "Futu" theatre in 1913.[89]

The majority of Spandikov's sketches consist, perhaps not unsurprisingly given that it was a favourite subject of his, of dancers. His set designs are lost. The dancers are among the most interesting works of the production to have survived. The watercolour sketch of three costumes[90] depicts three women linked in a triangular ring by their oustretched arms. They wear long triangular skirts that are green, mauve and blue respectively. The simplicity of colour and geometricism of form bears a striking resemblance to Malevich's costume designs for "Victory over the Sun", and again implies a sequential link between the two productions. There is, however, no proof that Malevich knew of Spandikov's designs when working on "Victory over the Sun", and anyway such geometricism was absent in the costumes actually created for "Tsar Maksem'yan" (Plate 4.4).[91]

The simplicity of Spandikov's design is surprising considering the relative (compared with the sketches of other artists) finish of the works. His are the only works in which a background is found and the whole picture surface is covered with watercolour. For example, in one sketch of a dancer wearing green stockings, short red boots, a hitched-up skirt and a huge red and black headdress, the figure sits on a crimson seat against a white background in which is depicted a gallery rail.[92] Another sketch concentrates solely on the headgear of the dancer though the face,

with its triangular shape and huge eyes with very heavy, sad eyelids, undeniably bears the mark of Vrubel.[93] It is surrounded by a round red cap with long black tails and a green (triangular shaped) 'scarf' in the place of the neck. The background is blue.

Other sketches by Spandikov include the cock mentioned above; an odd image of Death in a ribbed smock-like dress, a red tassle hat over what appears to be blue hair, a cloak and a menacing expression; a female figure in a long green dress with black spots, and a peaked oriental-type hat; a sinister witch-like figure in a vast green and red hat, purple cloak and yellow socks; and Venus who wears a white gown with a pink belt, blue shoes and yellowish hat. On Venus' left hand there is a large bangle while in her right she holds an upright mysterious wand. In another sketch of Venus, Spandikov shows her on a pedestaled throne in a red tent. Her hat is tall and pointed with huge flaps that stick up in the air at an angle of forty-five degrees. There is also a drummer who stands on a red and blue floor against a wall of yellow, green and red stripes. He wears ceremonial dress - yellow breeches and shoes, a red and black hat and a green jacket. His hands are yellow.

Sagaidachnyi's costume sketches indicate a spontaneity and freedom from historical precedent. His quick pencil sketches outline the form of a number of characters: e.g. the cock, Death, a fox, the gravedigger's wife, soldiers, courtiers, drummers, skomorokhi, boy-soldiers, the Tsar, Venus and the skorokhod-marshal. Almost all the sketches are roughly drawn in pencil and only rarely is watercolour added. This is the case with a

skomorokh in which the goatee-bearded musician holds his stringed instrument (possibly a domra, the predecessor of the balalaika) and wears simple, unadorned clothes and a broadbrimmed black hat.[94] Samples of the cloth to be used for the costume have been stuck on the sketch and the name 'Spandikov' written by the side. This coincides with the cast list, for Spandikov played a skomorokh. Other sketches also have the players names beside them, the most finished being that designed for Shleifer which depicts another domra player, this time described as a 'poteshnyi', in a costume of bright pink, green and blue. The only sketch to correspond with any semblance of truth to descriptions of the play is that of Brambeus who wears a red-hooded mask and black cape. That of a handsome young male figure in bright jacket and a peaked hat may well be Adolf, but if so again tradition is flaunted because he is not in military dress. This relates to a certain 'de-militarisation' of the play that the Union of Youth appear to have consciously undertaken.

Yet some contemporary critics complimented the correlation of the costumes with tradition. Gita, for example, singled out the Italian ambassador, blacksmith, Anika and Death for their effectiveness and accuracy as regards fitting in with the overall picture the play presented.[95] Moreover, the photograph of the actors (Plate 4.4) does show a number of characters in military uniform, as Warner states they should be, and with their distinguishing props.[96] Ultimately, it appears that the artists occasionally observed certain costumer traditions while at the same time freely indulging their imagination in primitive, lubok-

inspired forms and colours. The absence of a really developed plot and any profound characterisation increased the significance of the characters' appearance.[97] Visual form was emphasised for audience recognition, in contrast with the more recent practices of the 'high' theatre where the developed, literary plot and characterisation relied heavily on the spoken effect.

Overall, the sketches produce an impression of disregard for strict adherence to a particular historical period. This in itself was a valid approach because "Tsar Maksem'yan" is essentially a framework for a variety of fictional and folkloric characters and combining a mixture of influences. Warner substantiates this view: "One of the most striking features... is the diversity of types and methods of costuming to be found... within... a single text" and she cites "the mixture of military influences, symbolism, attempts at historical accuracy and remnants of ritual masking to be found all together in "Tsar Maksimilian"."[98]

In the original folk productions of "Tsar Maksem'yan", as in the Union of Youth's version, costumes had been used that failed to reflect either the period to which the action belonged or that of contemporary society. Even so attention would have been paid to individual details of costume in order that they comply with some model. The Union of Youth's production, with all its idiosyncracies, followed this pattern of sporadic historical accuracy, spontaneity and flights of imagination. In this, the group embraced the characteristics of the folk theatre which could abandon logic and realism for recognition and identification.

Distinctions were thus sharply and visually drawn rather than subtly and intellectually as in 'high' theatre. This necessarily altered the reaction of the public who felt drawn to participate in the recognisable scenes with characters whose role they knew and outcomes they could predict. Yet, at the same time the Union of Youth retained exaggeration and distortion, as well as those conventions (such as the balagan stage), that clearly delineated the audience from the players.

The "Khoromnyya Deistva" evening as a whole, more than any other production at the time, reflected the shifts in time and space that were inherent in folk dramas. The conglomeration of German, Russian, Siberian, Spanish and French elements; the combination of the absurd, mythological and realistic; and the mixture of the medieval and the nineteenth century, completed an event that rejected the rational plot and audience-actor distinctions of the contemporary theatre.[99] The formal innovation of the Union of Youth's "Khoromnyya Deistva" is apparent and indisputable, and its place as an historic work of art and predecessor of "Victory over the Sun" is firmly established (see Chapter Eight).

"Khoromnyya Deistva" 17 - 20 February 1911

The success of the Union of Youth's first production of "Khoromnyya Deistva" brought calls from critics and the public for it to be repeated. On 2 February the group announced that because of its "great artistic success"[100] it would be performed again though no precise details were given as to when and where.

Simultaneously, the director Tomashevskii, wrote to the press in a mood of exaltation, thanking those who took part for their "most passionate participation" and "the touching attitude to the success of the evening".[101] By 6 February it was announced that the second production would occur on 17 February at the House of Interludes, although on this occasion the "Folk Dance Whims with the Public" was to be dropped and Cervantes' interlude "The Jealous Old Man", with a prologue written by Tomashevskii and designs by Verkhovskii and Gaush, was to be staged instead.[102] The production was repeated on 18, 19 and 20 February. The addition of the Cervantes interlude (written in 1615) fitted well with "Tsar Maksem'yan" although it nevertheless considerably altered the form of the "Khoromnyya Deistva". The absence of deep characterisation and a rational plot in "The Jealous Old Man" coincides with the Russian play, as does the portrayal of vice. Furthermore, the apparent simplicity is deceptive, and the realism is ambiguous and combined with absurdity:

> Lorenza complains to her neighbour Hortigosa that her aged, jealous husband keeps her *incommunicado*; she wishes he were dead despite his gifts, his jewels and his money. Hortigosa proposes a scheme for introducing a lover into Lorenza's room under the very nose of her husband, Canizares. Lorenza and her equally exasperated niece Christina discuss the problem:
>
> "And honour, niece?"
> "And delight, aunt?"
> "And if we are found out?"
> "And if we are never found out?"
>
> A trick involving a leather hanging allows a lover to slip into Lorenza's bedroom. So thoroughly gulled is Canizares that he will believe what he thinks he sees - the figures in the hanging - even while his wife tells him what is really happening. Lorenza then accuses him of representing lies as realities, while she clearly plans to continue converting reality into a lie.[103]

Unfortunately, no details of the Union of Youth's production are known and no costume sketches for "The Jealous Old Man" appear to have survived. The only mention in the press noted that the effect produced by "Tsar Maksem'yan" echoed that of the first occasion: "As before, the entrance of individual players was greeted by applause, so distinctive and interesting were these figures."[104]

The Union of Youth's Third Exhibition 11 April - 10 May 1911

After the Union of Youth delegation returned to Petersburg from their study trip to Finland and Sweden during the autumn of 1910 the press published reports that the group had invited Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian artists to participate in its next exhibition.[105] The idea was to present a picture of the latest trends in Northern art generally. The show was due to open at the beginning of February. However, the Scandinavian and Finnish artists apparently failed to send their works and the exhibition was postponed until April. The postponement enabled those artists who had been involved with "Khoromnyya Deistva" until the latter half of February to concentrate once again on easel painting. It also gave the group time to find other artists with whom to collaborate. Their search, as in 1910, concentrated on Moscow, where exhibitors at the first Knave of Diamonds and Moscow Salon exhibitions were found ready to contribute works to the Union of Youth. The third exhibition therefore represented a broad section of the new Russian avant-garde.

There were, however, significant changes, both in participants and style, that set this exhibition apart from the two in 1910. Many artists who had contributed to the earlier exhibitions were absent from the 1911 show. The artists who failed to take part can be divided into four groups, those belonging to the first three never again showing with the Union of Youth. First, there were those who had only been invited exhibitors at "The Russian Secession", and whose 'idealistic symbolism' generally set them apart from the group. These included Mitrokhin, Petrov-Vodkin,

Naumov and Tsarevskaya. Second, there were members and exhibitors who may have felt at variance with the direction the group and its leadership was beginning to take. These included Bystrenin, Gaush, Nalepinskaya and Severin. Of these, Bystrenin (who had begun to work for the Troitskii Theatre) and Gaush (who clearly felt more at home with the World of Art) had been founder members. Third there were students of Kardovskii: Afanas'ev-Kokel'[106], Ukhanova and Zaretskii.

The fourth group consisted of those artists who were temporarily "otherwise engaged", including Bubnova, Dydyshko, Markov, Mitel'man and Ekster. The first four had been studying at the Academy of Arts under professor Aleksandr Kiselev (1838-1911). However, Kiselev had died at the start of the year. Indirectly, his death had a profound effect on the future appearance of the Union of Youth's exhibitions. N.N. Dubovskoi was subsequently appointed the students' professor and although a "quiet and kind" man he stipulated that his students should work "only for the Academy".[107] This accounts for the 'muted' contributions of the four to the Union of Youth's shows thereafter.

The disappearance of Markov from the Union of Youth's exhibitions is surprising in view of his defiant words in the summer of 1910. But it indicates the compromise he felt worth making in order to finish his studies at the Academy - which had cost him so much effort and money to begin. Both he and Bubnova may have placed a value on their education that was not communicated in his polemics, although equally this may only have amounted to access to studios and materials, stipends, and the

chance to meet fellow students rather than a respect for the teaching. Markov continued to be openly provocative in his art classes, but outside the Academy he felt it apposite to be more cautious. Thus, both his and Bubnova's future publications were written pseudonymously (Bubnova as D. Varvarova) and he subsequently displayed just three paintings, at the Donkey's Tail exhibition in Moscow.

Mitel'man's future participation with the group was also considerably curtailed. After contributing a number of works to the first two exhibitions, he gave just two sketches and a landscape to the Petersburg and Moscow exhibitions of early 1912. In contrast, Dydyshko participated in all three 1912 exhibitions (though he showed just one landscape and three sketches in total) and, after graduating from the Academy, gave many watercolours to the final Union of Youth exhibition at the end of 1913.

Bubnova reported that Dydyshko, Markov and herself all worked on canvases with the theme "Gathering Apples" (on Markov's suggestion, which may well have been inspired by Goncharova's use of the theme), with a view to exhibiting the finished works at the 1911 exhibition.[108] She believed the works, now lost, were displayed in the Union of Youth building, but was uncertain whether they were shown at the exhibition.[109] There was no mention of any such paintings in the exhibition reviews or in the catalogue (including the group's copy, which contains pencilled-in changes[110]), so it may be assumed that the works were not shown. Bubnova's description of the distortions and exaggerations in the paintings hints at elements of Neo-Primitivism:

> I painted my picture with bright, pure colours in a flattened style. The movements of the people were ludicrously exaggerated. The colours in Markov's painting were also bright. I remember a basket with apples that shone like red coals, under a tree. The soft pink dress of the woman standing alongside created an extraordinary colour combination. The leaves of the tree were dark. The play of the chiaroscuro gave a sublety and poetry to the bright picture.[111]

Given the Union of Youth's immaturity and fervent commitment to development it is not surprising that many new contributors appeared and old disappeared at the third exhibition. Of the Petersburgers, only Shkol'nik, Spandikov, Shleifer, L'vov, Sagaidachnyi, Baudouin de Courtenay and Verkhovskii remained from the Riga show. Of these, Verkhovskii (who withdrew all his catalogue entries except one wooden sculpture[112]), Sagaidachnyi (who soon 'defected' to the Moscow avant-garde), and Baudouin de Courtenay exhibited for the last time with the Union of Youth. Filonov recommenced his co-operation with the group, and Le-Dantyu (for this occasion only) continued his association by exhibiting five landscapes and two sketches ex-catalogue.[113] Further evidence of the group's state of flux can be seen by the fact that there were twelve new Petersburg-based exhibitors. Most notable among these were the Ballers, Bel'kin, Rozanova and Chagall. New Moscow exhibitors included Malevich, Tatlin, Morgunov and Konchalovskii. Indeed, the Moscow contribution was so increased from the two previous exhibitions that it now accounted for almost half the works shown.[114]

The third Union of Youth exhibition opened in Petersburg at 10 Admiralteiskii Prospekt, the house of Princess Baryatinskaya[115], on 11 April 1911. It was a highly significant show, introducing

several new names that were to play prominant roles in the development of the Russian avant-garde: Rozanova and Le-Dantyu exhibited publically for the first time; Tatlin, who had just taken part in Izdebskii's second Salon in Odessa (his first ever show), participated in an exhibition in the Russian capital for the first time; and Chagall also exhibited with an established art society for the first time, having previously only contributed two pictures to a small 1910 exhibition of work by students at the Zvantseva School organised by the journal Apollon.

By the beginning of 1911, Mark Zakharovich Chagall (1889-1985) had moved from Petersburg, where he had been studying under Bakst and Dobuzhinskii at Zvantseva's School, to Paris. His inclusion in the Union of Youth exhibition could be attributed to his having established contact with artists associated with the group prior to his departure. No details are known but Chagall's participation implies certain common ideals. He displayed four works: two portraits and two canvases entitled At the Table (one of these was probably Dinner shown at the Apollo exhibition the previous year), all of which are lost. The portraits, called Portrait in Red and Portrait in White[116], consisted of "very coherent and emotional painting".[117] Bazankur was impressed by the modulation and power of colour, comparing the intensity of feeling to Filonov's (see below).[118] At Zvantseva's, no pressure had been put on Chagall to conform, and Bakst's admiration of the young artist had left him free to develop his individuality undisturbed by the need to compromise that beset some of the Union of Youth members who were students at the Academy.

Unlike Chagall, who exhibited just four paintings in Russia in the next three years[119], the other significant newcomers to the Union of Youth began to establish themselves in their homeland. For Tatlin and Rozanova, the 1911 exhibition was the beginning of an association with the Union of Youth that lasted nearly three years. In that time they, as much as almost anyone else, helped define the group's artistic direction. Le-Dantyu, on the other hand, rapidly aligned himself with the Moscow avant-garde. Both he and his friend Sagaidachnyi, were introduced to Larionov by their friend at the Academy, Viktor Bart.[120] Together with another Academy student, Kirill Zdanevich[121], these young artists began to associate with Larionov's "Donkey's Tail" group in 1911.[122] Indeed, both Le-Dantyu and Sagaidachnyi, the main contributors to the design of "Khoromnyya Deistva" just a few weeks earlier, never again participated with the Union of Youth after the third exhibition. Quite possibly they also gave up studying at the Academy about this time. The correspondence between these artists[123], when it becomes more fully available, will shed considerable light on the cause of the tensions and conflicts in the group in 1911.

On 30 April 1911, while the Union of Youth exhibition was still in progress (it closed on 10 May), the press announced that a group of artists were leaving the newly formed "Moscow Salon" in order to organise their own exhibition under the name "Donkey's Tail".[124] Although no names were given it transpired that the leaders were Larionov, Goncharova and Bart. The Moscow Salon had followed Kul'bin in attempting to represent "all directions of the

art groups that exist at the present"[125]. Artists who appeared in the first Moscow Salon exhibition (10 February- March 1911), included Konchalovskii, Mashkov, Sar'yan, Malevich, Larionov, Goncharova, the more conservative Sergei Gerasimov, Kharmalov, the sculptors Krakht and Golubkina, and the architects the Vesnin brothers.

The birth of a breakaway group from the Salon[126], led by Larionov[127], gave artists based in Petersburg, who were dissatisfied with the Union of Youth and wanted to belong to a more avant-garde organisation, the chance of a new platform. Not only Le-Dantyu and Sagaidachnyi were attracted to the new group. With their striving for new forms of artistic expression, Bubnova and Markov, who respected Larionov and Goncharova[128], may also have made the switch had they not been able to use the Union of Youth as a publisher for their ideas. The ambiguous position of these two artists is shown by the fact they both appeared in the first published lists of Donkey's Tail exhibitors.[129] These lists excluded all mention of the Union of Youth participation and frequently appeared in the advertisements for the Donkey's Tail show in the Moscow press. However, both artists then appeared in the Union of Youth's catalogue for that exhibition.[130]

Bazankur found two broad and vague catagories of artists at the third Union of Youth exhibition: "those who painted that which does not exist in nature (Baller, Filonov) and those who, although they depict that which exists in nature, do so from a naive, quasi-childish point of view (Burlyuk, Mashkov, Goncharova, Malevich and many others)".[131] Le-Dantyu's subsequently expressed view that the

members were simply representatives of "coloured academicism" and "parasitism"[132] is also worth noting here, especially as a debt to French Post-Impressionists and Fauves was underlined by the sale of photographs of paintings by Matisse, Van Dongen, Gauguin, Cézanne, Van Gogh and others.[133]

If the twenty-year old Le-Dantyu's youthful creative spirit made him ignore the fact that even the leaders (i.e. Spandikov, Shkol'nik and Shleifer) in no way made an homogenous group and that all had "considerably changed"[134] since the previous year, there is still some truth in his words, when applied, for instance, to Nagubnikov and L'vov.[135] Both of these artists contributed a number of works to the 1911 exhibition which Rostislavov felt displayed a "continuity and link with the painting of the recent past" that was absent in the Moscow artists.[136] However, in apparent contradiction of Le-Dantyu, he singled out L'vov for being "so original" and "having found his own style in his drawings".[137] Such a duality of response to L'vov's work is reiterated by Milashevskii:

> Lev Bruni continued: "L'vov is the single pleasing phenomenon in our painting... L'vov is integrity... to himself, to art and to nature! No "affectation" and no "marquis""... I found... dull painting... dry officialese, "class drawing". Some kind of drum major of the Life Guards of the Pavlovsk Regiment. Samokish got such models for his studio... with an absence of charm and fascination.[138]

Nagubnikov made one change to the works published in the catalogue, replacing a still life with Woman and Child (cat.79).[139] This was also the title of a work contributed by L'vov, and added to the proliferation of female figures at the exhibition noted by Breshko-Breshkovskii: "At no exhibition this season has there been

so many female bodies. In every room there are virtually dozens of studies of female models."[140] Milashevskii described Nagubnikov's work thus:

> An exhibition of his work was organised in the hall of Isakov's flat. Outwardly it looked like Matisse's early work of 1902-3. These female models with some angular forms. Their sharp edges made them similar to Cubist "toys". The colour was pleasant and resonant, if a little disconnected i.e. not perceived as with the French, but contrived. But taken as a purely decorative tendency rather than as a study of nature in heightened colour, they produce a conventional but nice impression... Of course all this was imitation, a second-hand copy and "the vocabulary of the popular unabridged lexicon.[141]

Rostislavov also perceived an academic note in Zel'manova's work: "Zel'manova is very able and gifted. She has contributed a very beautiful Still Life with Carnations, a series of landscapes and keen, distinctive portraits where a great "realistic" capability is felt."[142] But according to another description (no works are known to have survived) such "realistic" capability as Zel'manova possessed was being undermined by her recent attraction to other methods of expression:

> She draws, and draws not badly. Previously she had charcoal studies of female models, created in a broad and sketchy manner, not devoid of talent. But now Zel'manova is apparently drawn to Le Fauconnier...and in "Le Fauconnier style" she has painted the Portrait of a young man. It turns out that this is a real person for his initials are written down. But Ms. Zel'manova has fiercely taken revenge upon the young man because he so trustfully, suspecting no treachery, posed for her. And although this is by all appearances a "pale-faced" European, to this effect he is tall and waxen white, his cheeks and hands are blacker than boots. Indeed the entire model is a flat, leather dummy.[143]

Zel'manova's interest in Le Fauconnier (who, incidentally, was married to a Russian), was almost certainly real. The Frenchman had exhibited works from his Fauve period in Russia on various

occasions since the first Golden Fleece salon in 1908.[144] In 1912 his article "The Work of Art", originally published in the second Neue Künstlervereinigung catalogue in the autumn of 1910, was translated in The Union of Youth, testifying to the group's respect for his ideas at this time.[145] Also, Zel'manova had travelled extensively throughout Europe, especially in France, and would have had the opportunity to see Le Fauconnier's latest work. It should be noted that despite the distortions of her portrait, Zel'manova's exhibits were not so visually disturbing (as indicated by the compliments she received from the critics the following year at Donkey's Tail[146]), as those of many of her colleagues.

Spandikov's work was described as the "furthest right"[147]. He had twelve entries in the catalogue, including a Sketch for Venus' throne (from "Tsar Maksem'yan"), Flowers, Doves, A Church, On the Sofa, The Mask, The Harem and Skating. Breshko-Breshkovskii's review helps identify his interests:

> Where there's a will one can find that which is good and that which is typical in his drawings of Apaches. All the filth and depravity of the Paris slums is relished in these heads, so perversely-bestial, so repulsive. All this is in charcoal. But Spandikov also has oil paintings. And there are times when you find pleasant tones and a feeling for colour that compensate for the excessiveness of generalization. At last the psychological self-portrait of the artist may inspire one with the 'confidence', in other words one can agree, that here at least Spandikov realises his own self precisely.[148]

Another critic noticed: "Spandikov possesses taste and talent, he searches for interesting features and in the Apaches (cat.95) sketches successfully catches movement."[149] One sketch of the Apaches group (Plate 4.6) depicts a couple drawn with a briskness that neglects finish. The young woman is roughly held by the man

who rocks towards her. Little sense of the filthy Paris slums is conveyed but the schematized lively treatment of the subject matter recalls Van Dongen's Moulin de la Galette (1904).[150]

Spandikov's Self-Portrait (cat. 104, Plate 4.7) uses colour combinations, generalised form, and cuts off the composition in a way that also recalls Van Dongen, whose atypical Fauve work was well known to Spandikov through the Golden Fleece and Izdebskii salons.[151] Of all the younger Russian artists, Spandikov was almost certainly the closest in both subject matter (he frequently depicted dancers and women of urbane society) and compositional treatment to Van Dongen. Both artists favoured impasted colours and forceful arabesques.[152] Spandikov's Self Portrait, executed in tempera on board, shows a middle-aged man (he was thirty-six) with a long, pointed face. The blue eyes look towards the viewer with a rather sad, questioning expression. The hair, swept over from the left, is yellowish and the coat, which covers a third of the picture surface, is dark blue. The inaccurate modelling and unreal pale green background compare with Van Dongen's The Red Dancer (1907), exhibited at the second Golden Fleece salon, where the bright orange dress of the dancer constitutes more than half the composition. Heightened and improvised relationships of colour are common to both painters. Spandikov's expressive medley of green, red, blue and white in the bottom right corner balances the work in a similar way to the pink, blue and vermillion arm-band of Van Dongen's dancer.[153]

Almost certainly Breshko-Breshkovskii considered Spandikov the least avant-garde exhibitor because he lacked the geometricisation

and primitivisation of form of others. In addition, his subject matter, including the lawless apaches and harems, with its concern for urban life, could be considered out of vogue.

Chelnokova, exhibiting just one work in her only Union of Youth exhibition, was apparently even less avant-garde than Spandikov. In a very negative review, Veg criticised all the artists, except Chelnokova, for abandoning academic laws and for "nightmarishly" imitating French modernists:

> In the whole exhibition there is just one painting which is not a disgrace and which is coloristically beautiful - Ms. Chelnokova's southern Vineyards [cat. 105] on a bright day. Here the desire to express the light and air of the southern regions and to preserve a harmony of light green tones is clear.[154]

Such truth to visual appearance, seen in the work of one minor exhibitor, if as exceptional as the critic maintains, indicates the extent to which the Union of Youth participants had rejected copying from nature by early 1911. This reinforces Markov's comments of the previous summer.

No evidence remains of the appearance of Shkol'nik's fourteen contributions, although the titles show little change from previous years, e.g. Evening, Twilight, Flowers, Spring, The Town, Sunset and The Doll. Shleifer displayed eight works, including two Sketches for a Theatrical Panel (presumably for "Khoromnyya Deistva"), Shepherd Boy, Love, Stockholm, Study, Still-Life and Portrait. His Shepherd Boy (cat. 120) is extant in black and white reproduction (Plate 4.8).[155] The stylised southern scene depicts a young boy sitting on a rock beside his dog. He blows a pipe, attracting the attention of some of the white sheep in front of

him. In the background is an undulating landscape which ends in some low hills. This is separated from the foreground by a tall tree and two more sheep. The effect is of a generalized, decorative composition. Despite the use of perspective the figures remain flattened on the picture surface. Wisps of foliage to the right add a compositional balance that is reminiscent of a medieval fresco. In Giotto's St. Francis Preaching to the Birds (Plate 4.9) in the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, for example, the figures are also flattened, trees divide the foreground and background and a rural lyricism pervades the simplified scene. Furthermore, Shleifer employs cloisonné technique and an artificial naive style that suggests a study of Gauguin.

Although Veniamin Pavlovich Belkin (1884-1951) did not play a significant role in the Union of Youth, his participation in their third exhibition emphasises the variety of acceptable styles still permissable after Riga. This was the artist's first exhibition after his return to Russia from two years in Paris (1907-1909) where he had studied at the Académie de la Palette under Guérin and Cottet. Belkin's Fruit against a Blue Background (1910, Plate 4.10) was possibly one of the artist's four still-lifes shown at the exhibition.[156] The colour combinations are bright and precise, echoing Petrov-Vodkin: red and yellow apples, pears and pomegranates contrast with the blue tablecloth and the dark greens and black of the piano. The precise delineation of form and use of perspective denies the crude distortions and vague forms seen in other exhibitor's work.

More significant for the future development of the Union of

Youth were Rozanova and Filonov. Olga Vladimirovna Rozanova (1886-1918), who had studied art at the Bolshakov and Stroganov schools in Moscow (1904-1910) made a modest debut with the Union of Youth. However, henceforth she was to play an influential part in the group, contributing to every exhibition, joining the committee and publishing her ideas in its journal. Rozanova, who had only recently moved to Petersburg, contributed two works to the third exhibition - Still-life and The Restaurant. Neither received any critical attention in the press.

The Restaurant (cat. 81, Plate 4.11), bought by Zheverzheev, has survived.[157] Three featureless figures, all wearing hats, sit at virtually empty white tables. The viewpoint is raised but this does not account for the lowness and small size of the tables, which are out of proportion with their surroundings, not least the large windows. Unnaturally bright colour occurs in various, restricted areas of the canvas - the window space behind the hanging frames is yellow; to the right is a green curtain through which a red wall and table are visible; the wall above the central figure is pink; the corner is green; the four curiously positioned round lamps are blue. The patrons of the restaurant, small and subordinate to the compositional pattern are little more than constructive elements. The emptiness of the scene creates a lifeless, impersonal feeling. Only the colours, not the featureless women, have any vibrance and this through their apparently random association with objects.

Filonov presented a far more compressed image of the desolation of life in his work of the period. His name did not

appear in the catalogue, yet in the administration's copies he is twice pencilled in with a work.[158] In one copy, Nightmare is added while in the other the title Fantasy has been deleted and replaced by Sketch. Whatever the title[159], there is no doubt that the image was nightmarish, and comparable with the vision of an "opium smoker"[160] in Samson the previous year. The distinction between these two works may be slight, yet it seems the images of the Nightmare were far more disturbing for the non-hallucinating viewer.

The title of the painting appears to have changed again, becoming Heads. Contemporary descriptions suggest that if this work, is not the Russian Museum (Plate 4.12), it is very similar. Filonov's sister, Glebova recalled the creation of the Russian Museum painting, its exhibition at the Union of Youth, and that Filonov later considered it his first 'made' painting:

> My brother left Petersburg for the village of Vokhanovo, near the station of Elizavetino... He lived in a small, dark and squalid peasant's izba [hut], with a tiny window. It was autumn - damp and cold... How could he work there? In the darkness and with a paraffin lamp. I know two works which he created in this village. One of them was acquired by the Russian Museum. It is a small oil painting. In it, to the right, is a red-bearded king sitting on an strikingly drawn white horse. To the lower left my brother depicted himself. The resemblance is clear although I never saw my brother with such an exhausted, mournful face. This painting was exhibited without a title at the Union of Youth's spring 1911 exhibition. Other oils, regarded by the exhibition selectors as too far to the left, were not accepted.[161]

Strangely, contemporary descriptions[162] fail to mention the distinctive king and horse of the Russian Museum painting, casting some doubt upon whether or not it was indeed this work that was exhibited. Even so, there are considerable compositional

similarities between the descriptions and the work.

The painting depicts a dense mass of dark faces, sinews and hands. Separated from this darkness by a curving line, the white horse, lit brightly, as if by fire, rears up below the gleaming images of an Egyptian goddess and the king. Behind the king, in a tiny space in the very top right hand corner, appears the staring, sad face of a negro slave. The other heads, in the dark left side of the canvas, are impregnated with suffering and resignation. Besides the putrid crimson, apparently decomposing, face of the infant and the light shining (perhaps symbolically), on the forehead of the artist's self-portait, the faces are united by the pervasive dark red-brown tones. Only the infant's head is attached to a body (the up-raised arms stretch out of a dress of sinew and body tissue). None of the persons, not even the two in the upper left corner who stare eyeball to eyeball, relate to one another, though they are united in their despair and loss of feeling. Sinewy blue-grey hands, with bent fingers, appear from nowhere. Ugliness and beauty, age and youth, male and female (though predominantly male), are squeezed together in this dark crowd. Madness, cruelty and wisdom are all expressed in the faces.

The disparate influences, symbols and meanings of Heads. combined in an intense formal examination of visual art, assert the analytical attitude to art that was to dominate Filonov's work during the next three years. In declaring this canvas his first "made" painting Filonov wrote that by this principle "the research initiative is linked with the maximum professional data".[163] Diverse objects are integrated to form one subject matter, created

with an almost clinical attention to detail, that distorts traditional conceptions of both narrative and composition.

Filonov's study of anatomy had been long and self-exacting. By 1910, when he left the Academy without graduating, he considered himself able to continue his creative work alone.[164] His drawing and painting skills, combined with his wealth of imagination, reach their first artistic climax in Heads. Filonov borrowed from German artists, like Breughel the Elder and Bosch, was attracted to the symbolism of Vrubel and had an interest in the grotesque, not dissimilar to other Russian modernists (Kuznetsov, Kalmakov and Baller, for instance), that appeared to derive, in part at least, from Ensor.[165] His appreciation of academic principles did not blunt his search for originality. The brilliant painterly quality of Heads was highly praised by the critics, who found it hard to correlate with the nightmarish vision.

Idealistic and realistic symbolism seem to co-exist in Filonov's work. On the one hand, his vision denied reality, being a product of rampant fantasy, on the other it depicted realities that were both cerebral and biological. Thus he was able to impart life to the painting: "These colours, as in nature, are not dead: they quiver and flow: they are not motionless."[166] To have this painting described as a living object was exactly in accordance with his, soon to be pronounced, ideas about the metamorphic and tensile qualities of art.

Despite a common re-evaluation of artistic values evident in the exhibits, Breshko-Breshkovskii realised correctly that Filonov "stands completely by himself".[167] Yet other artists were

considered to have a similar passionate feeling for the creative process and to be able to breath life into their use of colour. Bazankur noted such qualities in "Kuns' Little Head en plein air[168], Chagall's Portrait in White and Portrait in Red, Kevorkova's Portraits of Two Boys[169] and L'vov's Siberian landscapes."[170] She also related Baller to Filonov, not stylistically, but because they both painted "that which does not exist in nature".[171] This is not revealed by Baller's ten catalogue entries which included a work entitled Autre Hollande, three landscapes and a variety of drawings, sketches and studies of Bessarabian peasants.[172] Baller's previous interest in the grotesque and the lyrical now gave way to certain primitivist distortions, mentioned by Breshko-Breshkovskii:

> You can't recognise Baller. You look in the catalogue because you don't believe your eyes... Where have his poetic nocturnes, such finely executed pastels, disappeared? Gone are the nice ghosts... Isaac [St. Isaac's Cathedral] appearing dimly through the foggy haze of a Petersburg night, the mysterious little lights of the embankment, the sleepy Dutch canals - none of these, not even a hint of them, remain. They have all conceded their place to some schematic abstract emptiness. And those who loved the earlier Baller feel empty inside.
>
> This sudden change, a break so drastic, in the artist's creative work is unaccompanied by any stirrings. Silently, without fanfares, he searches for new ways. Whether he gets lost, whether he feels solid ground under his feet - that's his own concern. But had Baller been in another group, his burning of the old gods would have had his friends loudly proclaiming the whole event and crowning him with the martyr's wreath of a pioneer and searcher.[173]

Such a change, from the vague forms of symbolism to depicting peasants of his home region with a sense of "schematic, abstract emptiness", hints at an adoption of certain Neo-Primitivist values by Baller. Yet this move, which was evident in several Union of

Youth artists, was still only modestly proclaimed, the group recognising that they were studying and searching, open to making mistakes and learning from criticism.[174]

Baudouin de Courtenay appeared for the last time with the Union of Youth at their third exhibition. The subject matter of her twelve exhibits, including Scene in a Tavern, Part of a Frieze, White Deer, Angelica, Alms and, ex-catalogue, Horses, was highly diverse.[175] Almost certainly, it is Horses which was described by the Ogonek critic: "... the imitation of old Italian and Dutch masters sometimes attains good results. Such is the case with Baudouin de Courtenay's composition of horsemen with a peasant woman, which is precisely copied from Gozzoli".[176] The Gozzoli is possibly the Procession of the Magi fresco in the Palazzo Medici, Florence. Copying and studying early Renaissance Italian art, whatever the formal purposes, was clearly not unique to Baudouin de Courtenay (cf., for example, Filonov and Markov). She, like her colleagues, was not interested in the narrative content of the subject but in using it to explore stylistic possibilities.

The precise adherence to earlier styles noted above, and with reference to her miniatures ("echoes of Byzantinism"[177]), does not convey a sense of Neo-Primitivism to Baudouin de Courtenay's work. However, this is more in evidence in her other contributions: Angelica (cat. 22) was parodied in one journal for its childishness[178], while the simplifications and distortions of Part of a Frieze (cat. 13, Plate 4.6) and Scene in a Tavern (cat. 14, Plate 4.6), both of which could have been designs for "Khoromnyya Deistva", remained incomprehensible to other critics.[179]

Scene in a Tavern breaks entirely with academic convention. The figures are flattened, spatial recession and proportion are ambiguous, detail and one-point perspective are abandoned. Thus the dancing couple, the woman sleeping on the floor, the musician and the man behind the table are flatly and crudely rendered, monolithic, and distorted. The incline of the table hides too much of the man's body and legs, the oval plate of fish is seen from above, but the decanter and glass are seen from the side. Where spatial recession does occur, such as in the wooden bench, it is countered by the absence of two of the bench's legs and the abrupt appearance of the door, too low and too near to coincide with the articulated space of the bench. The decorative twist of the schematic branch in the lower right corner contrives to upset the bold clumsiness of the other forms. The sense of absurdity that is achieved, together with the different devices and various viewpoints, recalls Larionov's and Malevich's experiments. Representational aims are diminished and suppressed by the study of primitive technique.

Part of a Frieze depicts a primeval scene in which six naked female figures sit, stand and lie in contorted positions. In contrast to Scene in a Tavern their legs are emaciated. But the effect is the same - one of spurning of tradition for the sake of new artistic values, devoid of semantics and narrative. The stylised "bright pink"[180] figures are set flat on the picture plane, interspersed by distinctly artificial representations of plants and flowers. There is no sense of depth. Possibly this was the design for the Baudouin de Courtenay's frieze in the "make-up"

room of "Khoromnyya Deistva".

It is finally worth mentioning two other artists who left the Union of Youth after this exhibition. Le-Dantyu exhibited four landscapes and two sketches[181] none of which received any critical notice. This suggests that he withdrew them at the last moment, or that they were relatively inoffensive. Sagaidachnyi, who was accused the following year of a rejection of nature that had led to absurdity[182] and of creating paintings that would be more interesting as "carpets"[183], contributed a series of six little landscapes. In addition, he displayed a decorative frieze entitled The Marriage[184] (and sketches to it, ex-catalogue), two sketches for Khoromnyya Deistva and two portraits. Other than Sagaidachnyi's sketches for "Khoromnyya Deistva", described above, no works by the artist appear to have survived. His disassociation with the Union of Youth henceforth was probably influenced by Le-Dantyu, who was not reticent with advice.[185] Whatever the cause Sagaidachnyi also failed to integrate with Larionov's Donkey's Tail.[186]

It is clear that the identity of the Union of Youth, at least as evidenced by its 1911 exhibition, was multifarious. No single way forward was envisaged, nor indeed was it sought. Yet it is clear that a primitivism of sorts, at times grotesque and at times pastoral, was beginning to prevail, as recent developments in France, not least Fauvism, began to be assimilated. Still the group refrained from making any generalised polemical statements, and did not seek to present a united front. Such stealth irritated the ebullient talents of Le-Dantyu and Sagaidachnyi, who felt the

need for more pronounced expression and search. Yet even the contributions to the 1911 exhibition of these artists appear adapted to the Union of Youth's modesty.

The Muscovites

The following analysis is intended only to outline briefly the trends evident in the work of the Moscow artists, in order that their interaction with the Union of Youth can be better understood. At this stage there was little radical departure from the styles seen the previous year: Larionov and Goncharova continued developing their Neo-Primitivism, the Burlyuks continued with their eclectic simplifications, and Mashkov and Konchalovskii with a 'Cézannism'.

As usual, most of the Moscow artists exhibited their work separately from the Union of Youth at the third exhibition. However, as if presaging the split between the Knave of Diamonds and Donkey's Tail, Konchalovskii and Mashkov showed their work with the Petersburg artists. The others occupied two entire rooms and were entered separately in the catalogue. They had selected their own exhibits without any control by the Union of Youth. This autonomy led to a more coherent selection than that Markov had brought from Moscow in 1910.

From the two Moscow 'factions' only Tatlin had failed to exhibit works in the recent Knave of Diamonds and Moscow Salon exhibitions. Indeed, almost all of Konchalovskii's and Mashkov's contributions had been on display in these Moscow shows. The former showed a number of works from his Spanish series, the

central piece being his Matador (Manuel Garta) (cat. 47, Plate 4.13) whose blackened face, hat and hair led Breshko-Breshkovskii to accuse the artist of being, in part, "a dirty coal miner".[187] The generalised form, against an unelaborated background, was typical of much of Konchalovskii's work of the period. No great psychological penetration is felt as the 'outer shell' of the model is of primary importance. This concentration on the effects of colour, led in the majority of Konchalovskii's 1910 works, to the use of brilliant, saturated tones and radical simplifications. For these he was undoubtedly indebted to works such as Matisse's Green Stripe (Madame Matisse) (Plate 4.14).[188] Thus, the use of colour to order the composition, slight modelling, crude brushwork, and even the frontality and exaggerated shade on the face can be traced to Matisse.

Konchalovskii's friend Ilya Mashkov, heavily influenced by the Cézannist Fauvism of 1907 to 1908 (he had travelled to France in 1908), showed two studies of female models, two still-lifes and a portrait. The exact identity of these works remains unknown, although it may be assumed that they did not greatly differ from those he showed at the Union of Youth's Riga exhibition, the Knave of Diamonds and Moscow Salon. Mashkov's Portrait of a Young Man in an Embroidered Shirt (1909, Plate 4.15) exemplifies his use of the model as a subject for a painterly exercise similar to a still-life (see Still-Life with Blue Plums, 1909, Plate 4.16). The whole of the picture surface is treated as an ornate pattern and saturated with brilliant, unnaturalistic colour. The huge red roses of the background are juxtapositioned against the small crimson floral

designs on the man's shirt, as if indebted to Matisse's Harmony in Red, recently bought by Shchukin[189], and in which the flat decorative patterning of the wall and tablecloth dwarfs the flowers in the vase. Still, together with his crude brushwork and thick delineation of form, Mashkov restricted his experimentation and style, retaining an interest in modelling and the description of space through light rather than colour.

The scorn of most critics was reserved for Malevich, Larionov, Goncharova and the Burlyuks. Their work was primarily Neo-Primitivist, drawing on domestic Russian stimuli. Yet stylistic differences did exist between the artists, even if few reviewers chose to explore them, preferring instead to regard them all as excessive charlatans. Even the liberal Rostislavov found the Burlyuks "mostly over-extravagant and troublesome"[190], in this instance, singling out David Burlyuk's Young Lady as especially so.

Identifying the Burlyuks' exhibits proves difficult: David exhibited eleven works, essentially a mixture of landscapes and still-lifes; and Vladimir eight works - mainly portraits and landscapes. In 1911, both appear to be working in a primitivist style, but without Larionov's inventive exploration of motifs from peasant arts. David Burlyuk's Horses (possibly exhibited as The Stable, cat. 145, Plate 4.17) suggests this, while also betraying a knowledge of German Expressionism - especially the work of Marc. Burlyuk, who had been studying in Odessa for the past year, probably met Kandinsky there when he arrived for the first Izdebskii Salon. From 1910 onwards the Burlyuks contributed to the exhibitions of the Neue Künstlervereinigung and Der Blaue Reiter,

while artists from the Munich and Berlin groups took part in the Izdebskii Salons and the first two shows of the Knave of Diamonds. The paint of Burlyuk's Horses is layered and impasted as in his earlier works. However, pure colours, far from nature and non-descriptive, form large random areas of the composition. The horses are red and defined only by a heavy black contour. The stiff angularity of the horse on the right is that of a wooden toy, echoing the figure seen in Guro's Morning of the Giant (Plate 2.25). There is a raw quality in the expressive brushwork and use of colour regardless of light, closer to Jawlensky and Shmidt-Rottluff than Marc, yet imbuing the work with some of the emotional force of the latter's Red Horses (1911).

The majority of Vladimir Burlyuk's exhibits, which included two "landscapes" and The Peasant Woman, had been shown at the Knave of Diamonds. In works like Landscape (1912, Plate 4.18), the land, buildings and sky are delineated by thick blue lines, the forms are geometricised and flattened and there is no sense of depth. However, as seen in his landscape reproduced in the Blaue Reiter Almanac (Plate 4.19), Vladimir Burlyuk's compositions were not necessarily so geometricised. Here, despite a generalisation and simplification of form, the trees, buildings and horizon are easily recognisable. This articulation of space and form expresses Burlyuk's affinity with the Der Blaue Reiter.[191] Like Kandinsky, for instance in Mountain Landscape with Church (1910, Munich Art Gallery), Burlyuk only used the landscape motif as a starting point. A consistent rhythm is imposed on the natural forms, which are subordinated to the composition of the picture as a whole.

Colour and forms are used primarily as structural elements. Burlyuk's landscapes of this period concentrate on the impression made by nature, rather than on describing the physiognomy of nature itself.

Burlyuk's portraits, like those he contributed to A Trap for Judges (Plate 4.20), were simple black and white silhouettes. The following description indicates why the critics were so unimpressed:

> Vladimir Burlyuk has exhibited Portrait of a Poet [cat. 131]. A negro has been painted, but not such a negro as we would imagine: to paint him, a fine technique is needed in order to express the way the light shines on dark skin. Mr. Burlyuk does it more simply: he draws an ugly silhouette in black and puts this daubing in a frame. This is impossible to comprehend as a poet. Maybe it's a negro poet? Next to it is exhibited the Portrait of the the Poet Khlebnikov [cat. 132, Plate 4.21], probably also from the young generation? What has been drawn is the equine profile of some freak, helped by straight lines and angles. In children's magazines there are such problems: to create Napolean's silhouette out of matches. All of Burlyuk's work possesses this same quality.[192]

Clearly, Burlyuk, with his severe, laconic and schematic line, used the model, not as a subject for intense pyschological examination but as a means of exploring technique and examining only the essential characteristics of the sitter's facial features.

Kazimir Severinovich Malevich (1878-1935) and Aleksei Alekseevich Morgunov (1884-1935) had been exhibiting their works in Moscow for some years, but only Morgunov had previously participated in a Petersburg exhibition (contributing three works to the seventh exhibition of the New Society of Artists, just five months earlier).[193] Both artists, therefore, were happy to find a platform for their art in Petersburg and again it was the Union of Youth that provided a forum for artists new to the local public.

Indeed, with this exhibition both Morgunov and Malevich began an association with the Union of Youth that was to last until its final exhibition.

Morgunov selected five new works. After a period of working in an Impressionist style he travelled extensively throughout Europe in 1909 and 1910, and henceforth his palette brightened and his form solidified. Portrait of Larionov and Goncharova (? c. 1911, Plate 4.22) illustrates this new interest in contemporary Parisian painting. The references to Manet's A Bar at the Folies-Bergères are combined with a simplified background reminiscent of Matisse and flat simplified figures and the broad brushstroke. It is impossible to claim that this work was shown at the Union of Youth exhibition, but In the Restaurant (cat. 174) and In the Tavern (cat. 178) were probably very similar.

Neo-Primitivism was most strikingly present in Malevich's work, which included Man in a Pointed Hat. Lady and Masseur in the Baths, all of which had previously been at the Moscow Salon in February 1911. Masseur in the Baths (cat. 171) may have been Chiropodist in the Baths (Plate 4.23) based on the composition of Cézanne's Card Players. Here, Malevich changes the subject matter to a scene common to the public baths all over Russia and crudifies the means of representation: the brushstroke is broad; outlines are heavy; colour is occasionally saturated; space is ambiguous; features are simplified; and full-face eyes appear in profile heads.

Malevich's Man with Toothache and Seed-Beds (Bringing Earth) (cat. 172, Plate 4.24) were new. The latter depicts two cumbersome

peasants pushing a cart of turf. The clumsy, monolithic figures that fill most of the picture space are flattened and distorted. Space is not articulated, foliage is stylised, and the tiny wheelbarrow and spade above the second peasant recall the lack of perspective and modelling of the lubki. At this time, Malevich's Neo-Primitivism is close to Goncharova. Both frequently used the peasant motif for their experiments and exploited the structure of indigenous Russian folk art. Malevich's heavy, cumbersome forms created with bright, colour antagonised the Petersburg critics:

> Imagine the foulest, badly-stuffed sawdust dummy of the most ill-made doll, thickly painted here in blue and there in green. And this dummy has no spine, arms or legs. We'll guess that it is the latter that lie on the bench, and, like the dummy itself, are an outrage. Similarly you can guess that all around are soapsuds.[194]

On this occasion both Larionov and Goncharova contributed works that had previously been shown at the Knave of Diamonds or Moscow Salon.[195] Larionov's five exhibits, including Self Portrait (cat. 166 Plate 4.25), transfer compositional devices from the lubok - employ saturated colour, flat ground, heavily outlined form, a monoplanar depiction of the subject and written script. In Bread (cat. 164, Plate 4.26) the focus is on the contrasts in mass, producing an effect of weight and objectness similar to that of the static, primitive Russian baker's signboards. While indebted to Western developments, and the interest in primitive art in Paris and Munich, Larionov, unlike the Burlyuks, was interested in identifying his work with the cultural character of Russia.

Goncharova's primitivist works also looked to Russia, and occasionally used peasant artifacts; one critic discerning a

suggestion of "the painting on lacquered country items".[196] However, others, such as Religious Triptych, Religious Composition and In Church (cat. 161, Plate 4.27) transferred techniques from icon-painting rather than the secular forms of folk art that were apparent in Larionov. In Church depicts a fashionable lady in blue, with rings on her fingers, holding a basket, against (there is no sense of scale or space) a huge and dominating icon of an almond-eyed Madonna. The contrast between the two figures is emphasised by the different styles used and is that of the physical and spiritual world. This echoes the two areas of Gauguin's The Vision after the Sermon (1888), where the division between the supernatural and material realms is indicated by the black and red colour ground. Goncharova's lady takes the place of Gauguin's Breton women, whose vision of the struggle between Tobias and the angel is depicted on the red ground beside them.

Goncharova's art was also inspired by peasant motifs. The Woodcutter (cat. 162, Plate 4.28) is a stylized depiction of a peasant chopping wood. Three-dimensional space is denied as the figure is surrounded by appropriately facetted forms that signify the cut timber. Form is delineated by a broad *cloisonné* outline. Colour contrasts are again emphasized in order to express a certain elemental power and intensify expression. The integration of the Russian peasant with his surroundings, while suggestive of a new awareness of Cubism, also recalls Marc's identification of animals with their environment (for example, Tiger, 1912, Städtische Galerie, Munich). This was perhaps coincidence, since Marc's work was little known at this time. Yet Goncharova may have been aware

of Marc through Burlyuk or Kandinsky, and she did show The Woodcutter at the Der Blaue Reiter Munich exhibition in February 1912. While Goncharova has chosen a Russian motif, her purpose seems akin to Marc's - namely the expression of a pure, underlying organic rhythm, with which animals and peasants are instinctively in touch.

Vladimir Evgrafovich Tatlin (1885-1953), like Morgunov and Malevich, began an association with the Union of Youth that was to last until its final exhibition. Already on friendly terms with Larionov, his move to Moscow in 1910[197], brought him into contact with many of the avant-garde painters, including the Burlyuks and Aleksandr Vesnin. In 1911 Tatlin began to exhibit. At least nine of his twelve pictures at the Union of Youth's exhibition were drawings. In 1910 he had concentrated on motifs concerned with sailors and fishermen, as in Naval Uniforms (Plate 4.29). This watercolour depicts a figure holding a roll of blue material. In the top right-hand corner a sign proclaims "Naval Uniforms", with 'Flotskiya' [Naval] deliberately misspelt, echoing the graffiti in Larionov's Self-Portrait.[198] Despite the retention of these figurative elements, the handling of the material is also much in evidence. The composition is broken down into broad interpenetrating planes in which there is no coherent system of perspective and the image of the uniform seller blends with the loose, sweeping brushwork. This structure recalls Goncharova's The Woodcutter, as the interplay of line, colour and form becomes as significant as the subject itself.

Despite his simplifications of the figure, Tatlin had studied

life drawing and surviving studies from this period indicate the way he reduced anatomical form to its basic geometrical components.[199] Of all his exhibits only Female Model (cat. 182) gained press attention, being described as "well conceived and original in colour".[200] His Portrait (cat. 192) may have been that depicting himself painting (Plate 4.30). The line is at once emphatic and laconic. Detail is suppressed by the stereotyped curvilinearity of the forms and the generalised colour. A calligraphic directness is especially evident in the simple evocation of the figure in a hat to the left of the model. The model itself is heavier, its head and shoulders flattened, as if Tatlin, having taken his lead from Larionov's and Goncharova's Neo-Primitivism, is juggling with the techniques of pictograms and icons.

The differences between the Petersburg and Moscow contingents at the Union of Youth's exhibition of April 1911 are evident. An interest in folk art was common to both, but the means of its exploitation appear to have fundamentally differed. Although the Petersburgers were concerned with primitivism after their production of "Khoromnyya Deistva", it was not a dominant or consistent trend and perhaps only evident in Baudouin de Courtenay, Sagaidachnyi, Baller and Shleifer. Many of the artists appear to have retained a metaphysical symbolism in their work (e.g. Shkol'nik, Spandikov and Filonov), and, together with those who concentrated on expressive techniques (Nagubnikov, L'vov), still ignored native Russian folk motifs. In contrast, the Moscow

artists were easily identifiable by their Neo-Primitivism. While their work remained Western in many respects, copying Parisian Fauve handling and the resonant colour of the Munich Expressionists (as in the case of the Burlyuk brothers), they combined this with an exploration of distinctly Russian cultural conventions.

FOOTNOTES

1. The catalogue to this exhibition, Salon 2 (Odessa, 1910), contained a series of articles on modern art and painting, including Kandinsky's "Content and Form", Kul'bin's "Triangle", Henri Rovel's "Harmony in Painting and Music" and Schoenberg's "Parallel Eighths and Fifths".

2. E. Kovtun, Pavel Filonov (Leningrad), 1988, p. 12. It was also reported (Golos moskvy No. 12, 16 January 1911, p. 5) that they visited Sweden with similar aims but no details of this trip survive. Only Markov is known to have visited Sweden in 1910 (see V. Bubnova's introduction to V. Markov Iskusstvo negrov (Petrograd) 1919, p. 5), and yet he did not participate in the 1911 Union of Youth exhibition. Shleifer exhibited a study of Stockholm at the 1911 show, implying that, of the four who went to Finland, he at least, travelled as far as Sweden.

3. Russian Museum, Leningrad, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 15, l. 1.

4. See below, Chapter Six, concerning Markov's participation in the formation of the Union of Youth's library.

5. Concerning Zheverzheev's patronage of the Union of Youth see, for example, J. Bowlt, "The St. Petersburg Ambience and the Union of Youth" Russian Art 1875-1975: A Collection of Essays (New York) 1976, p. 113.

6. See below Footnote 11, concerning the translation of "Khoromnyya Deistva".

7. See below, Chapter Eight.

8. M. Etkind, "Soyuz molodezhi i ego stsenograficheskie eksperimenty" Sovetskie khudozhniki teatra i kino (79), (Moscow) 1981, p. 248.

9. A. Rostislavov, "Levoe khudozhestvo" Rech' No. 85, 28 March 1910, p. 2.

10. N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Soyuz molodezhi", Birzhevye vedomosti No. 11612, 13 March 1910, p. 6.

11. There is no appropriate translation due to the peculiarly Russian sense of "khoromyi" from which "khoromnyya" comes. It can either be a big wooden house, usually constructed from separate buildings joined by vestibules and passages or simply a rich, large house with spacious apartments. By 1911, its use was anachronistic and ironic. "Deistva" is an archaic word meaning "acts" or "plays". Thus translating "Khoromnyya Deistva" as "Mansion Plays", for example, is inadequate.

12. However, after the Riga exhibition Zheverzheev never again contributed work to the Union of Youth shows.

13. Mikhail Mikhailovich Bonch-Tomashevskii (1884-c.1920) was an amateur stage director. On 29 March 1911 he read a report entitled "The Theatricality of Negation" (The Origins, Rise and Fall of Cabaret)" at the A.N. Ostrovskii Society in St. Petersburg.

14. For example, J. Bowlt, "The St. Petersburg Ambience" op.cit., p.121.

15. S. Auslander, "Vecher Soyuza molodezhi" Russkaya khudozhestvennaya letopis' (St. Petersburg) No.4, 1911, p.60.

16. Such figures had been reproduced in V.V. Stasov Slavianskii i vostochnyi ornament po rukopisiam drevniago i novago vremeni (St. Petersburg) 1887 - see R. Zguta, Russian Minstrels (Oxford) 1978, pp.70-75.

17. Kul'bin exhibited a painting with this title at the second Knave of Diamonds exhibition in January 1912.

18. Zguta, Russian Minstrels, p.111. Tsar Maksimilian and Tsar Maksem'yan refer to the same folk drama. Maksimilian is more frequently used but the Union of Youth employed Maksem'yan.

19. Yet another student at the Academy (from 1907), Mikhail Yakovlevich Mizernyuk (1883-?), also studied in Paris. He acted in "Tsar Maksem'yan" as a skomorokh and fife-player (see cast list published in Obozrenie teatrov (St. Petersburg) No.1324, 18 February 1911, p.28). His designs, for the costumes of a courtier and a girl, are, like those of the other artists, in the Leningrad State Theatrical Museum.

20. The Crooked Mirror opened in Petersburg on 19 December 1908. It was founded by the actress Z.V. Kholmskaya and the theatrical critic A.R. Krugel (pseudonym - Nomo Novus). Unlike the House of Interludes, the cabaret-like performances at the Crooked Mirror often had a serious message. Although Evreinov appears not to have realised a production of his monodrama "The Performance of Love" (see Chapter Two), he wrote it with the intention of putting it on at The Crooked Mirror. His conception of monodrama as "... a kind of dramatic representation which attempts to communicate as fully as possible to the spectator the inner state of the protagonist, and presents the world around him as he perceives it at any one moment" (N. Evreinov "Vvedenie v monodramu" Studiya impressionistov, (St. Petersburg) 1910, p.52) involved a kind of non-sequential, intimate fusion of emotional action and reaction, not dissimilar to that evoked by "Khoromnyya Deistva".

21. The House of Interludes followed in the footsteps of Moscow's "The Bat" [Letuchaya Mysh'], founded in February 1908), in its experiments with cabaret.

22. "Balaganchik" (Little Fairground Booth) was staged at the Komissarzhevskaya Theatre, later the Luna Park Theatre, where the

Union of Youth were to stage their "Futurist" productions (see Chapter Eight).

23. The Russian puppet theatre had its origins, as Zguta has shown (Russian Minstrels, p. 118), in the shows of the skomorokhi, but outlasted these folk players due to their banishment in the seventeenth century. Blok's play was based on an earlier poem, where the puppet theatre is openly portrayed.

24. Later, in 1917, Remizov even wrote his own version of Tsar Maksimilian.

25. Protiv techeniya No. 11, 24 December 1910, p. 4.

26. The proposed Christmas production may well have been that of the Union of Youth. Certainly the February production that took place in the House of Interludes was theirs.

27. A. Blok, O Drame (St. Petersburg) 1907, p. 75.

28. See Chapter Two.

29. Viktor Mikhailovich Vasnetsov (1848-1926) painted themes from Russian epic and bylin literature, and stage designs for Mamontov's opera-theatre. His works on folklore themes included Tsarevich Ivan on the Grey Wolf, Bogatyrs, The Snow Maiden.

30. Concerning certain features of the new spatial dynamism in art and theatre, see Chapters Seven and Eight.

31. P. M. [Panna Malishevskaya] "V Soyuze molodezhi" Peterburgskii listok No. 27, 28 January 1911, p. 4.

32. V. Ir. "Khoromnyya deistva" Sovremennoe slovo No. 1102, 29 January 1911, p. 4.

33. P'ero-O "Khoromnyya deistva Soyuza molodezhi" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 12146, 28 January 1911, p. 6.

34. P. M. "V Soyuze molodezhi".

35. Gita "Khoromnyya deistva. Soyuz molodezhi" S-Peterburgskiya vedomosti No. 23, 29 January 1911, p. 7.

36. P'ero-O "Khoromnyya deistva".

37. Gita "Khoromnyya deistva".

38. The poteshny were a regiment of boy soldiers formed by Peter the Great.

39. See Obozrenie teatrov No. 1298, 22 January 1911, p. 15.

40. V. Ir. "Khoromnyya deistva".

41. Adrian Grigor'evich Shaposhnikov (1888-1967) first studied music with Kalafati and then entered the Petersburg conservatory, graduating in 1913. A pupil of Glazunov, Sokolo and Vitols. This is the first known work by the composer, who subsequently orchestrated A. Gorsky's ballet "The Feast of Kings", 1912-1913 and Sologub's "Poisoned Garden", 1913; lived in Moscow 1920-1935; and was director of the Composers' Union of Turkmenistan from 1937-1948.

42. L. Kamyshnikov, "Khoromnyya deistva. Spektakl' Soyuza molodezhi" Obozrenie teatrov, No. 1305, 29 January 1911, pp. 10-11.

43. Most of the designs for "Khoromnyya Deistva" were preserved by Zheverzheev, who later donated them to the Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, where they remain today. None of the designs is available for reproduction. Verkhovskii's sketches, referred to here, have the inventory numbers Zh1212 and Zh1213.

44. Kamyshnikov "Khoromnyya deistva".

45. See Obozrenie teatrov No. 1302, 26 January 1911, p. 14. No biographical information about this author has been found. Possibly he was using a pseudonym. Concerning the publication of nineteen variants, see Aleksei Remizov Tsar Maksimilian. Teatr (Petrograd) 1920, pp. 123-126. (Reprinted, Berkeley Slavic Specialities, 1988).

46. Remizov, Tsar Maksimilian. Teatr, p. 114.

47. See Elizabeth A. Warner, The Russian Folk Theatre (The Hague), 1977, pp. 167-207.

48. Remizov, Tsar Maksimilian. Teatr, p. 112.

49. Gita, "Khoromnyya deistva".

50. See Chapter Eight.

51. See advertisement in Peterburgskaya gazeta No. 22, 23 January 1911, p. 2.

52. No biographical details of M. P. Rechkunov have been found, leaving the possibility that this was a pseudonym.

53. P'ero-O, "Khoromnyya deistva".

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. A. Rostislavov, "Khoromnyya deistva" Teatr i iskusstvo No. 6, 6 February 1911, pp. 127-128.

57. Kamyshnikov, "Khoromnyya deistva".

58. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh1207.

59. P. M. "V Soyuze molodezhi".

60. Gita, "Khoromnyya deistva".

61. Rostislavov, "Khoromnyya deistva".

62. P'ero-O, "Khoromnyya deistva".

63. Ibid.

64. Kamyshnikov, "Khoromnyya deistva".

65. Warner, The Russian Folk Theatre, pp. 197-198.

66. Ibid, p. 159

67. P'ero-O, "Khoromnyya deistva".

68. Unfortunately the sketches tell little about individual artist's persuasions, due to their lack of finish and occasionally questionable attribution. This is compounded by their present unavailability for reproduction.

68a. Kamyshnikov, "Khoromnyya deistva".

69. The Easter cake referred to was Paskha, made from sweet cream-cheese in the form of a four-sided pyramid.

70. Gita, "Khoromnyya deistva".

71. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. 3569-1225.

72. See Warner, The Russian Folk Theatre, p. 197.

73. Ibid.

74. An example of the cock's vigilante role is seen in Rimsky-Korsakov's opera The Golden Cockerel, based on Pushkin's Tale about the Golden Cock.

75. Obozrenie teatrov, No. 1324, 18 February 1911, p. 28.

76. Gita "Khoromnyya deistva".

77. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. 3569-1228.

78. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh1308.

79. Warner, The Russian Folk Theatre, p. 167.

80. Ibid.

81. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh1237.

82. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh1252.

83. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh1259. This work is one of the few to be titled and signed.

84. See N.N. Evreinov (et.al.), Opis' sobraniya L. I. Zheverzheeva (Petrograd, 1915), p.65.

85. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. 3569-1295. There also survive in the Theatrical Museum's "Khoromnyya Deistva" collection, some costume designs by the unknown artist L. Mangubi. These include wood-sprites, dwarves, the Tsar and a curiously Futuristic sketch of some dynamic geometrical figures. It has yet to be established, however, whether these were actually created for the Union of Youth.

86. Warner, The Russian Folk Theatre. p.205.

87. A little later Le-Dantyu was to exhibit ex-catalogue in the third of the Union of Youth's exhibitions - the last time he could be said to belong to their ranks.

88. Le-Dantyu's article on "Active Performance" (TsGALI) is cited in Larissa Jadova "Des Commencements sans Fins", Europe. Revue Littéraire mensuelle 53 année (Paris) No.552, April 1975, p.126.

89. Concerning "Futu" see Chapter Eight.

90. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh1319.

91. The reproduction appeared in "Khoromnyya deistva", Ogonek No.6, 5 February 1911 (unpaginated).

92. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh638.

93. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. Zh1299.

94. Leningrad State Theatrical Museum, Inv. No. 3569-1234.

95. Gita, "Khoromnyya deistva".

96. Warner, The Russian Folk Theatre. p.197.

97. Gita ("Khoromnyya deistva") noted that "Every entrance was accompanied by applause".

98. Warner, The Russian Folk Theatre. p.207.

99. Besides beginning with the sounds of horns, drums and the cock, Gita also noted that "the whole play was interspersed by choruses and music which was both gracious and original, and which was scored by the composer M. Rechkunov" (Gita, "Khoromnyya deistva").

100. Obozrenie teatrov, No. 1308, 2 February 1911, p. 17.

101. Ibid, p. 18.

102. Obozrenie teatrov, No. 1312, 6 February 1911, and see Obozrenie teatrov, No. 1324, 18 February 1911, p. 28, for a list of the persons involved in the production.

103. W. Byron, Cervantes: A Biography (London) 1978, p. 506.

104. Rech' No. 50, 20 February 1911, p. 5. A further production was planned for 20 April but did not take place due to Tomashevskii's failure to get the costumes to the theatre in time (Obozrenie teatrov No. 1375, 20 April 1911). Even so, the following notice appeared (Peterburgskii listok, 17 April No. 103 p. 1): "Litienyi Theatre 20 April, 1) Tsar Maksem'yan, Negro Tragedy, Black and White 2) Parodies, caricatures and grotesques." Also Opis' sobraniya (p. 88) mysteriously notes that Gaush created decorations for a production of Cervantes' Consoled Cuckold at Shebek's Hall as part of a Union of Youth "Khoromnyya Deistva" production in February 1911. Here the title of the play and the venue may well have been mistaken for the above production. Certainly there is no trace of such an occasion.

105. A. Rostislavov, "Vtoraya vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" Rech' No. 358, 31 December 1910, p. 4; Golos moskvy No. 12, 16 January 1911, p. 5.

106. The Ukrainian artist Aleksei Afanas'evich Afanas'ev-Kokel' (1880-1956) studied under Kardovskii at the Petersburg Academy of Arts between 1909 and 1912. He contributed two studies, a Still-Life, and The Window to the Union of Youth's 1910 exhibitions.

107. V. Bubnova, "Moi vospominaniya", Riga Academy of Arts, (unpaginated).

108. I. P. Kozhevnikova, Varvara Bubnova: Russkii khudozhnik v Yaponii, (Moscow) 1984, p. 37.

109. Bubnova, "Moi vospominaniya".

110. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 6.

111. Kozhevnikova, Varvara Bubnova, pp. 36-37.

112. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 6.

113. Ibid.

114. Of the 192 works in the catalogue, 77 were by Moscow artists.

115. On the corner with Vosnesenskii Prospekt. Previously, Prince Baryatinskii had been connected with Triangle (see Chapter Two). Breshko-Breshkovskii ("Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Birzhevye

vedomosti No. 12266, 12 April 1911, p. 6) describes the difficulties the group had finding a venue and that they only succeeded in so doing, six days before the Easter holiday. They then had to work night and day on Princess Baryatinksaya's "empty apartment" in order to make it ready for the exhibition to open on the second day of Easter.

116. See O. Bazankur "Soyuz Molodezhi" S-Peterburgskiya vedomosti No. 85, 19 April 1911, p. 2.

117. A. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" Rech' No. 110, 24 April 1911, p. 5.

118. O. Bazankur, "Soyuz Molodezhi".

119. Chagall exhibited Death, apparently the same painting that had been shown at the 1910 Apollo exhibition, at the "World of Art" and "Donkey's Tail" in 1912; at "Target" (1913) he exhibited three untitled works.

120. Viktor Sergeevich Bart (1887-1954). Exhibited with the Knave of Diamonds and at Larionov's exhibitions. He also participated in the third Union of Youth exhibition, showing three works in the Moscow section. At the Donkey's Tail, Bart exhibited twenty-three works, many of which were illustrations.

121. Kirill Mikhailovich Zdanevich (1892-1970). Brother of Ilya Mikhailovich Zdanevich. Together with Le-Dantyu, the Zdanevich brothers discovered Niko Pirosmanashvili, the Georgian primitive painter, in the summer of 1912. Zdanevich appears to have first exhibited his work at the Donkey's Tail exhibition.

122. See A. A. Strigalev "Kem, kogda i kak byla otkryta N. A. Pirosmanashvili", Panorama iskusstv 12 (Moscow), 1989, pp. 296-332.

123. Strigalev, Ibid, p. 327, mentions the correspondence in TsGali (fond 792), although part is also in the Khardzhiev archive (see N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda (Stockholm) 1976, p. 30ff.. See also Chapter Five.

124. Obozrenie teatrov No. 1385, 30 April 1911, p. 11.

125. Golos moskvy No. 33, 11 February 1911, p. 4 and see Chapter Three, Footnote 34.

126. It could also be said that the group was breaking away from the Knave of Diamonds, but strictly speaking the latter was still not yet an art society, simply an exhibition organised by Lentulov and funded by the businessman S. A. Lobachev at the end of 1910. Thus, contrary to popular belief, Donkey's Tail existed as a definite, if unregistered, group with identified aims, earlier than the Knave of Diamonds.

127. Kandinsky, in his letter to Goncharova 14 March 1911 (cited in Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 33), noted that Larionov has written to him and mentioned a new society "Donkey's Tail.

128. See Markov's letter to Larionov, early 1910, Khardzhiev K istorii, p. 30.

129. For example, in Stolichnaya molva 12 March 1912 No. 233, p. 5.

130. While it is certain that Bubnova, who did not appear in the Donkey's Tail catalogue, exhibited with the Union of Youth section the same cannot be said for Markov, whose same three works were published in the Donkey's Tail and Union of Youth catalogues.

131. Bazankur, "Soyuz Molodezhi".

132. TsGALI 792. 1. 52. Cited in L. F. Diakonitsyn, Ideinye protivorechiya v estetike russkoi zhivopisis kontsa 19-nachala 20vv. (Perm, 1966), p. 207. See Chapter Five.

133. They also sold photos of Vrubel's later "crazy" works (Veg. "Soyuz Molodezhi", Rossiya No. 1164, 22 April 1911, p. 4).

134. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

135. The work of both Nagubnikov and L'vov is more fully discussed in Chapter Three.

136. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

137. Ibid.

138. V. Milashevskii, Vchera, pozavchera... Vospominaniya khudozhnika Moscow, 1989, p. 66.

139. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, 1. 7.

140. N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka soyuza molodezhi" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 12268, 13 April 1911, p. 6.

141. Milashevskii, Vchera, pozavchera, p. 69. S. K. Isakov was the stepfather of the artist Lev Bruni.

142. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuz molodezhi".

143. N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka soyuza molodezhi" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 12266, 12 April 1911, p. 6.

144. It is worth noting that the following year both Zel'manova and Le Fauconnier participated in the Paris Salon d'Automne.

145. Le Fauconnier, "Proizvedenie iskusstva" Soyuz molodezhi (St. Petersburg) No. 2, June 1912, pp. 36-37.

146. See B. Shuiskii, "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuz molodezhi" Stolichnaya molva No. 233, 12 March 1912, p. 4.

147. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka soyuza molodezhi", 13 April 1911.

148. Ibid.

149. [anon.] "Vtoraya vystavka Soyuza molodezhi v S. Peterburge", Ogonek No. 17, 23 April 1911 (unpaginated).

150. A year later the Apaches sketches, along with several other works Spandikov exhibited in 1911, were shown at the Donkey's Tail exhibition in Moscow and they were specially marked out by the critic Mamontov for their successful reference, in their small size and bold execution, to Steinlen. (Sergei Mamontov, "Oslinyi khvost" Russkoe slovo No. 60, 13 March 1912, p. 6).

151. Van Dongen contributed to the first and second Golden Fleece salons, his Red Dancer, appearing on the cover of the second's catalogue. His four works at the Izdebskii Salon included Pink Woman on a Red Background and Woman with a Mirror. In January 1912 he showed Two Women and Three Women at the second Knave of Diamonds exhibition. It is also worth noting that Elie Faure's foreword, "Kees Van Dongen" and "From Van Dongen's Letters" from the catalogue to Van Dongen's exhibition at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery, Paris (6-24 June 1911) was translated in Soyuz molodezhi No. 2, June 1912, pp. 38-42.

152. See also Spandikov's Lady with a Shawl (Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-974) and Lady in a Hat (Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-1508).

153. Van Dongen's Red Dancer belonged to Ryabushinskii.

154. Veg. "Soyuz Molodezhi", Rossiya No. 1664, 22 April 1911, p. 4.

155. Shleifer's Shepherd Boy was reproduced in Soyuz molodezhi No. 2, 1912.

156. The pencil notes in the catalogue in the Russian Museum (Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 6) indicate that Belkin actually contributed four still-lifes, two landscapes and a study, to this, his only exhibition with the Union of Youth. He went on to participate in many World of Art exhibitions.

157. Rozanova's The Restaurant was reproduced in Soyuz molodezhi. No. 2, 1912.

158. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 6-7.

159. The Ogonek critic ("Vtoraya vystavka") referred to the work as Painting without Title, while Rostislavov, ("Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi") was aware that it was entitled Nightmare.

160. V. Yanch. "Khudozhestvennaya khronika", Rossiya No. 1321, 12 March 1910, p. 3. See Chapter Three.

161. E.N. Glebova, "Vospominaniya o brate", Neva (Leningrad) No. 10, 1986, p. 151.

162. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka soyuza molodezhi" 13 April 1911; Bazankur, "Soyuz Molodezhi".

163. "Autobiography" in Kovtun (ed.) Pavel Filonov, p. 105.

164. See Glebova, "Vospominaniya", p. 150.

165. Cf., for instance, Ensor's Portrait of the Artist surrounded by Masks (1899, Jussiant Collection, Antwerp).

166. Bazankur, "Soyuz Molodezhi".

167. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" 12 April 1911.

168. Kuns was another Academy student. He is pencilled in the two catalogue copies (Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 6-7), once with Portrait and once with "208. Study". Bubnova later recalled that he was reputed to walk "twenty kilometres" in the summer in order to paint the sky, and that the bodies of his models were depicted as soft as the morning clouds (Kozhevnikova, Varvara Bubnova, p. 25). She also noted that he worked in "unusually bright tones" (Bubnova, "Moi vospominaniya), and that Markov was particularly interested in his work (ibid.). Apparently Kuns died in the war in 1914 (ibid.).

169. Pencilled in the catalogue (Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 6) was "Kevorkova - 204, 205 2 Portraits". S.M. Kevorkova also contributed two portraits, two Heads and a sketch to the second Knave of Diamonds exhibition, January 1912.

170. Bazankur "Soyuz Molodezhi". It is worth noting here that Rostislavov also found "a feeling for painting, sometimes with bold solutions of painterly problems [in] the child's work of a little girl." ("Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi"). Pencilled in the Russian Museum's copy of the catalogue is: "209. Children's drawings. Vimi and Lida." Subsequently Larionov and Kruchenykh both made use of children's art: Larionov used children's techniques in his primitivism and exhibited children's art at the No. 4 exhibition, 1914; Kruchenykh claimed, if doubtfully, that the co-author of Porosyata (1913), a Futurist book, was a child, "Zina V.".

171. Bazankur "Soyuz Molodezhi".

172. After graduating from the Amsterdam Academy of Arts in 1911 Baller returned to Petersburg, where he lived, with breaks for military service, until 1919.

173. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" 12 April 1911.

174. See Bazankur, "Soyuz Molodezhi".

175. Concerning Horses see the Russian Museum's catalogue, where it was priced at 300 roubles, double the price of the most expensive of Baudouin de Courtenay's other exhibits. Four of her works had previously been shown in Moscow at the Knave of Diamonds exhibition.

176. [anon.] "Vtoraya Vystavka".

177. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

178. "Na vystavke Soyuza Molodezhi" Sinii zhurnal No. 18, 23 April 1911, p. 13.

179. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" 13 April 1911. G. Mag. [Magula] "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" Novoe vremya No. 12609, 21 April 1911, pp. 4-5.

180. Mag. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

181. Pencilled in Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 6.

182. See Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 135, ed. khr. 12, l. 13, Letter of Morits Fabbri to Le-Dantyu, 25 November 1912, cited in D'yakonitsyn, Ideinye protivorechiya, p. 206.

183. Mamontov "Oslinyi khvost" Russkoe slovo No. 60, 13 March 1912, p. 4.

184. Possibly from "Tsar Maksem'yan". Sketches to The Marriage, on sale at 10 roubles each, were mentioned in the Russian Museum's catalogue of the exhibition.

185. See Le Dantyu's letter to Sagaidachnyi (TsGALI fond 792, ed. khr. 3, l. 1, cited D'yakonitsyn, Ideinye protivorechiya, p. 206) which is full of advice about ways to develop.

186. See Varsanofii Parkin (pseudonym of Ilya Zdanevich), "Oslinyi khvost i mishen" Oslinyi khvost i mishen (Moscow) 1913, pp. 64-65.

187. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" 12 April 1911.

188. Concerning Konchalovskii's admiration for Matisse (and their meeting in 1908), as well as Cézanne and Van Gogh, see P. Konchalovskii, "Pis'ma k I.I. Mashkovu" Panorama iskusstv 1978, (Moscow) 1979, pp. 184-211.

189. Shchukin had seen the work at at the Salon d'Automne of 1908 and brought it to Russia in 1909.

190. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

191. Burlyuk first exhibited in Germany at the Neue Künstlervereinigung show, September 1910. Subsequently he took part in Der Blaue Reiter (including the first show, Munich, December 1911) and Der Sturm exhibitions.

192. Veg. "Soyuz Molodezhi".

193. Malevich's first exhibition was the Fourteenth Exhibition of the Moscow Association of Artists (March 1907), where he showed twelve studies. He contributed to the following three exhibitions of the Association and then showed at the Knave of Diamonds (December 1910) and Moscow Salon (February 1911), displaying twenty-four works at the latter. Morgunov first exhibited at the Moscow Association of Artists eleventh show in February 1904 and then annually with the group until their seventeenth show (1909-1910). He also participated at the first Knave of Diamonds exhibition. His three works at the New Society of Artists seventh exhibition were Evening, Flowers and Autumn. The catalogue entries for Malevich's and Morgunov's early exhibitions, can be found in D. Gordon, Modern Art Exhibitions 1900-1916, Munich, 1974 (see Vol. I, pp. 344 and 348).

194. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" 13 April 1911.

195. Larionov exhibited Bread, Soldiers, Self-Portrait, Still-Life and Study, all of which are titles of works in the Knave of Diamonds catalogue (Katalog vystavki "Bubnovyi valet, Moscow, 1910-1911). Goncharova exhibited eight works, including Religious Composition, Spring in the Town, The Woodcutter and In Church which had been shown at the Knave of Diamonds and Hoar Frost and Evening, which were shown at the Moscow Salon.

196. B. Shuiskii, "Krainie", Protiv techeniya No. 10, 17 December 1910, p. 2.

197. Tatlin began his studies at the Penza School of Art in 1904, graduating in 1910. At the same time he continued to work as a sailor in the summer months. He then enrolled at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, but left in 1911.

198. Cf. the misspelling of a sign in Shkol'nik's The Provinces, described in Chapter Eight (Plate 8.29).

199. See L. Zhadova (ed.) Vladimir Evgrafovich Tatlin (London, 1988), Plates 42-67.

200. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

CHAPTER FIVE: THE 1911-1912 SEASON

THE FOURTH UNION OF YOUTH EXHIBITION, THE DONKEY'S TAIL and THE FIRST TWO UNION OF YOUTH JOURNALS

The Fourth Union of Youth Exhibition (4 January - 12 February 1912)

The Union of Youth's fourth, and smallest, exhibition opened less than eight months after their third had closed. It was organised jointly with the Donkey's Tail group, and was hastily arranged. One critic found only one factor in common to the various participants: "The exhibition... has united the most diverse elements. The link is the age of the participants".[1] Most took the view that the exhibits were united by their dullness and immaturity, interpreting coarseness as an attempt to shock that was already out-dated.[2] Only Rostislavov, Shuiskii and Breshko-Breshkovskii gave the exhibition serious consideration. Rostislavov tried to align it with the new purist theory expounded by Bobrov (see below), noting the genuine study of folk traditions, especially in the Donkey's Tail and the comparative lack of self-possession and integrity in the Union of Youth.[3] Breshko-Breshkovskii found that the Union of Youth had "become more to the left this year... But everything in the world is relative. Its leftishness fades in comparison with the extremities of the Moscow Donkey's Tail."[4]

In fact the collaboration of the two groups was based on convenience rather than mutual admiration or compatability. Larionov and the Moscow artists wanted a venue to exhibit their works in Petersburg and the Union of Youth were keen to get their work displayed in Moscow. Thus, although the groups appeared at

the same exhibitions they were strictly divided. The agreement led to the Union of Youth participating in the Donkey's Tail exhibition, which opened on 11 March 1912. It also highlighted certain distinctions between the two groups, and tensions both within and between the groups that were soon to become increasingly evident.

On 24 December 1911 it was announced that the Donkey's Tail's Petersburg exhibition was to open two days later in the "unsuitable venue where the State Printing House had formerly been".[5] The opening failed to take place. The reason given was that not all the "Tails" had arrived.[6] No mention was made of combining forces with the Union of Youth. Yet subsequently the Donkey's Tail participated in the Union of Youth's exhibition which opened on 4 January. They were not well represented; there were only thirty-five works by eight Donkey's Tail members, compared to over three hundred works by nineteen exhibitors at the Moscow show two months later.

How much this under-representation was accidental or deliberate remains in doubt. Sagaidachnyi and Le-Dantyu are known to have scorned Larionov's association with the Union of Youth. A letter from Larionov to Bart, written at the beginning of November 1911, thanks him for inviting Le-Dantyu and Sagaidachnyi to participate in the Donkey's Tail first show.[7] However, Le-Dantyu, Sagaidachnyi, Bart and Zdanevich, did not appear at the group's first exhibition. All four, upon learning that this exhibition was to be part of the Union of Youth's fourth exhibition, indignantly refused to contribute works. Allowing the Union of Youth to

exhibit with the Donkey's Tail in Moscow only made matters worse. For the Union of Youth, wanting to assemble a cross-section of contemporary artistic trends, this accord was highly favourable, but for those seeking a less eclectic approach it was not.

Le-Dantyu and Sagaidachnyi had left the Union of Youth after its 1911 exhibition, finding "the core of the group, imitators of Munich modernism"[8] and "... the coloured academicism of the imitators in the Union of Youth is not even copying, but parasitism".[9] At the beginning of 1912 Le-Dantyu expressed his opinion in a letter to Bart:

> ... I write because I'm filled with bewilderment. Today I heard from Zheverzheev that there has occurred a kind of friendly union between them and Donkey's Tail, in a word, "one favour deserves another". Imagine Spandikov, Shkol'nik, Shleifer etc. at the Donkey's Tail exhibition?!! Truly then indeed the exhibition deserves its name in its most literal sense in front of the bourgeoise and artists...I would never have believed it if I hadn't seen Larionov's letter in Shkol'nik's hands. As for the Union of Youth exhibition on now, I heard the following opinion from disinterested people, even non-artists: "Shame on "Donkey's Tail" for getting entangled with any of these Petersburgers" - this is worse than a "compromise"... Will it really be the same in Moscow?![10]

By the time the Moscow exhibition opened, the four dissenting artists compromised and displayed their works, aided by the premises possessing an upper gallery where it was possible to hang the entire Union of Youth section separately.

On 25 December, just ten days before the opening, the Union of Youth announced[11] that it was accepting works from exhibitors for its own show at Apartment 1, No.2 Inzhenernaya Street. There was no mention of collaboration with the Donkey's Tail. The location was where the Donkey's Tail exhibition was supposed to be opening

on 26 December.[12] The premises were owned by the Academy of Arts who hired them out for exhibitions at "extortionate" rates.[13] One way for young artists to cope with such a financial burden was to share the cost. This, undoubtedly, was one of the prime motivations for the Union of Youth/Donkey's Tail joint enterprise.

Opening on 4 January, the exhibition coincided with the final day of the All Russian Congress of Artists, held at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. This was probably a deliberate move, since at this time the Russian capital was packed with people concerned with the arts. Certainly, the Union of Youth took the opportunity to invite members of the Congress to the private view through a notice in the Congress's bulletin and offering them half price entrance on any days thereafter.[14]

The ambitious scope of the Congress attracted patrons from all over Russia as well as members of the aristocracy, royal family and government.[15] It was divided into eight working sections concerned with various questions of art (ranging from architecture, antiquity, theatre and applied art to artistic education, technique and aesthetics).[16] Those invited to participate included Union of Youth associates, such as Baller, Zheverzheev, Sagaidachnyi, Le-Dantyu and Morgunov as well as other avant-gardists (e.g. Kul'bin, Jawlensky, Yakulov, Matyushin, Kalmakov, Mashkov, Petrov-Vodkin). The majority, however, came from the establishment - the Academy of Arts and other art institutions.[17]

The first section, "Questions of Aesthetics and the History of Art", contained the most controversial lectures and debates, as well as the most original new ideas: Kul'bin spoke on "Harmony,

Dissonance and Close Combinations in Art and Life", "New Trends in Art" and read Kandinsky's text "On the Spiritual in Art".[18] Drozdov accompanied his own lecture "Painting and Music" as well as Kul'bin's "New Trends in Art" with musical illustrations.[19] Verkhoturov spoke on the place of art in primitive and modern life[20], and Bobrov, representing the Donkey's Tail, read a lecture entitled "The Bases of New Russian Painting"[21]

Here, examination of Bobrov's lecture is important as it was one of the first theoretical statements issued on behalf of the Donkey's Tail. It thereby helps to define the position of the group relative to the Union of Youth. Bobrov declared that the "Russian purists" (i.e. the Donkey's Tail artists), concentrated on formal problems because this enabled them to penetrate to the essence of an object. He argued that discarding the laws of nature or visual appearances, allowed painting to be "schematic and simple".[22] Under the guidance of the first "purists" of the modern day, Cézanne and Gauguin, as well as the "purism" of ancient civilisations, the Donkey's Tail conception of purism was that it: "... reflected its object, its living individuality, its painterly ideals... and gives a metaphysical painterly essence to things."[23] Clearly, Bobrov's use of the term "purism" identifies it with Neo-Primitivism and 'idealistic' symbolism.

The artist was to have a heightened awareness, like that of a clairvoyant for whom "physical mass is no obstacle to the insight of the higher essence... art is a different knowledge, an intuitive concept, and if symbolist painting was illusionism then we should be right to call purism oracularness."[24] The purists could

overcome the chaos of nature through creating works that were complete in themselves. Indeed, objects and nature are almost unnecessary because a work of art was to be a "painterly transcription of visual impressions or a chain of impressionisms reworked by the artist".[25]

Technically, the purists adopted economy of means: "the purist always tries to cover the largest plane with the least amount of paint."[26] In "inserting planes into a painting they do not forget that painting is concerned with two dimensions"[27] and thus every object could be divided into "little planes that run into one another".[28] Geometrical forms were felt to impart the greatest harmony to a painting due to their simplicity. They derived from various sources:

> The purists started to study the work of primitives, folk art, artists of the antique world, where natural forms are virtually absent, and came to the conclusion that in these there is considerably more beauty and vital, inner force than in works that are more approximate to nature.[29]

However, in contrast to the French artists the Russians observed the artistic and universal, truths expressed in "icons... lubki, northern embroidery, stone babas, bas-reliefs on communion breads, on crosses and our old signboards."[30]

Bobrov noted that the Russian "purists" did not paint objectless works but still-lifes and portraits, as well as "religious, genre and historical compositions".[31] In this he recalls Markov's use for nature as a "departure point" in "The Russian Secession".[32] He concluded that the basis of "purism" lay in "Russian archaism" and that it "united the painting of pure planes with vital themes".[33] Clearly, this was one of the first

defences of Larionov's and Goncharova's Neo-Primitivism, and, with its sense of symbolism, aligns its theory very closely with that of Kul'bin and Markov.

When Bobrov gave the same lecture at the Troitskii Theatre a few days later, differences between the ideas of the Donkey's Tail and Union of Youth were brought into the open. The succeeding quarrels between these groups, as well as the Knave of Diamonds, seem to stem from this occasion. Livshits claimed that David Burlyuk "strengthened Bobrov's weak argument", noting that "the attempt to depict the elements constituting the object had replaced the depiction of the object itself".[34] Larionov complained to Shkol'nik that he found it "a great pity that Bobrov did not read the lecture as he had wanted and that you (that is the Union of Youth), in his words, hindered him in this respect".[35] As if in reply, Eduard Spandikov, in his brief review of the lecture, "About Bobrov's Paper 'Russian Purism'", regretted the speaker's lack of detail concerning formal means. He also felt David Burlyuk's attempts to address this question lacked the necessary precision and objectivity. Spandikov concentrated on the issues that could more simply be equated with his own interests in art - namely the psychological and social basis for formal changes:

> When a remarkable new change occurs in the technique of painting, it does so as a result of a crisis in the psyche, and a new psyche needs new representational means... thus Russian art (after the 1905 crisis in social life) found itself faced with the necessity to follow that shift which had occurred. The focus of artistic creativity had been lost and a condition of passive creativity set in. The object became broader than the subject and the creativity of the genius began - life in its boundless space. In this condition of primeval, unconscious passivity the creative strings of man begin to sound with elemental strength, searching for new paths to consciousness. That is why questions about new

> representational means for the expression of inner emotions come to the fore.[36]

Spandikov's words cannot be taken as representative of the Union of Youth as a whole, but they do highlight an idea common among the Petersburg group - namely that an omnipotent and mystical, natural power governs the form of art. The closer man is to nature the greater his ability to select and develop means for creative expression. Likewise, Bobrov respected the primitive feelings of man and demanded an altered consciousness in modern man so that he may feel and express the essence of things. Such ideas were to be proclaimed with increasing frequency and specificity in the final two years of the Union of Youth's existence.

Overall, the art shown at the fourth Union of Youth exhibition broadly reflected Spandikov's and Bobrov's comparative attitudes to nature. Generally, the Petersburg exhibits still relied on a sensually perceived reality, while the Donkey's Tail were freer in their abstraction from nature. Both, however, paid tribute to Gauguin and Cézanne as the initiators of their formal approaches, and both acknowledged a metaphysical element.

Of the eighteen Union of Youth artists present, six were new exhibitors: M. Yasenskii, Pangalutsi, Potipaka (who was to be a permanent contributor henceforth), Novodvorskaya, Kurchaninova and Kuz'mina-Karavaeva.[37] The core of the group remained Spandikov, Shkol'nik and Shleifer. In addition, L'vov and Zel'manova contributed several works, and Rozanova and Filonov were also represented. A significant amount of wall space was also taken up

by thirty unspecified sketches for the previous January's Tsar Maksem'yan production.[38]

Given that the Union of Youth advertised that they were accepting work for the exhibition just ten days before it opened, and gave potential exhibitors only three days to bring their work to the galleries, it is not surprising that the outside contributions were few. Nor is it surprising that, although a primitivist tendency dominated, the feeling of direction and consistency was less evident than that of the Donkey's Tail.

One of the newcomers, M. Yasenskii[39], contributed three wood engravings and designed the exhibition catalogue cover and posters, the latter depicting two naked male figures catching a horse. The simple, decorative stylisation of the drawing, the monochromatic effect, bold line and flatness of the figures relates the work to the 1911 exhibition poster (Plate 4.5).

L.N. Kurchaninova's work was more painterly than Yasenskii's, and her distortions took other forms:

> I utterly cannot understand how it is possible to see a philosophical essence in, for example, L.N. Kurchaninova's Still Life (no.18): a little black round table upon which is a bottle of red-whortleberry pink colour, a bright blue lamb, three coffee-coloured eggs, apparently hen's, and two vessels of some sort, in cherry and bright yellow; all this is set against a background of a bright green curtain, - everything is distorted, slanting, falling from the table, but what is most killing is that this doesn't even excite curiosity or indignation, just a terrible boredom.[40]

Although Kurchaninova was not a regular contributor, the use of saturated colour and spatial ambiguities, focusing attention on the two-dimensionality of painting, was a common feature of Union of Youth exhibitors in its first years. Even so, as seen, for

example, in Vera Novodvorskaya's Illustrations to a Story by Barbey d'Aurevilly (cat. 47-50), literary content had not been abandoned altogether.[41] These were reported as being "fine graphic art... works created with much love, much taste and much skill."[42] Yet, Novodvorskaya also exhibited Picking Fruit (cat. 46, Plate 5.1), which shows similarities to Gauguin's Picking Fruit (1899, Plate 3.3), then in Shchukin's collection. Both works depict a tropical scene of semi-naked peasants amidst palm trees. Form is simplified, generalised and heavily delineated. Three-dimensional space is little acknowledged and the figures are depicted in classical, statue-like poses.

The imitative quality of Novodvorskaya's work, against which Le-Dantyu warned, was also evident in Pangalutsi and Potipaka.[43] Both were reported as having turned to folk art and with some feeling for "drawing and colour" but at the same time they were accused of being "mere copyists".[44] Still, Rostislavov sensed "many varied influences, from Vrubel to Stelletskii in the nice works [of Potipaka]".[45] Potipaka's titles (e.g. Allegory, Head of a Prophet, Paradise, Revelation and Love) suggest paintings full of religious symbolism. Most reviewers agreed that he was gifted. Mamontov's suggestion that his love for Vrubel had found him successfully catching the deceased's spirit "without falling into blind imitation"[46] hints at some originality. For Breshko-Breshkovskii:

> Potipaka is talented and possesses a feeling for colour. His George the Victor is painted in the spirit of a Byzantine icon. In its colouring this is a rather pleasant work. I didn't begrudge Potipaka's bright and festive colours for the dragon that cringes under the horses hooves...[47]

Potipaka's Earth (cat.53, Plate 5.2) is a highly stylized, complex frieze-like scene in which numerous horse-drawn carriages and Byzantine churches are depicted. A child-like effect is gained from the crudely drawn figures, ambiguities in the treatment of space and generalized forms. This is especially evident in the depiction of the coaches which are either seen directly from behind or the side and whose size does not always relate with their position. The medievalism of the picture is not always coherent, although it does suggest, in accordance with the ideas and symbols expressed in "Khoromnyya Deistva", a return to earlier epochs and values, in order to re-evaluate the present. A procession of coaches drives over hills towards an ancient citadel. They are surrounded by ecclesiastical buildings - symbols by which man aspires to transcend his earthly boundaries. This suggests that Earth may have been part of a series, with Revelation and Paradise, that examined man's worldliness and spirituality.

If Potipaka's primitivist work was overburdened with symbolism this does not appear to have been the case with Zel'manova. Yet both proved to be consistent contributors to the Union of Youth exhibitions. On this occasion Zel'manova contributed ten works, consisting primarily of landscapes and portraits. The latter received critical acclaim for their ""beauty" and "interest"[48], with Portrait of Miss D (cat.13) noted as "simplified but competent"[49] by the otherwise highly negative Shuiskii. Such simplification is evident in Margueritte (Plate 5.1) where a young girl, facing directly out of the canvas, holds two little flowers in her clenched hands. The bold line, lack of modelling and

unadorned background recall Matisse's Marguerite (Plate 5.3). Zel'manova may been in France in early 1910 and seen Matisse's Marguerite at his personal show at the Bernheim-Jeune gallery in Paris.[50] Certainly her exhibits at the Union of Youth's Riga exhibition included two Breton landscapes. The Ogonek critic summed up the extent of Zel'manova's innovation and talent: "In her timid exploration of form and colour a natural gift is evident".[51] However, Zel'manova's landscapes may have had Impressionist elements, since Breshko-Breshkovskii felt them to "almost belong to the Levitan school"[52], and regarded the vast amount of blue water in "Lake Geneva" (probably Lake Leman, cat.9) and the abundance of snow in the Swiss alpine landscapes, as daunting.

L'vov's sixteen works (which included Tobolsk (Plate 3.13?), The Yard (Plate 3.15?), The Cry, The Garden and three portraits) were largely ignored by the critics. They appear to have shown little change from previous years, being the least experimental and modern in the show. Although Zorkii found damp weather in L'vov's Drought and no hint of smoke in his In the Smoke[53], Breshko-Breshkovskii noted that:

> "... the most backward place must be ceded to L'vov. This L'vov could go to any exhibition, from the moderates to those of the Petersburg Society of Artists inclusive. His stylization is highly insignificant. His form is strict. Eyes, ears and bones - all features are in their rightful place. He yields to mood more in the landscapes, which are more sketch-like. His portraits are documentary and dry.[54]

Very few of the remaining Union of Youth exhibits have survived or can be identified. Nothing is known, for instance, of Dydyshko's three studies, Mitel'man's Landscape and sketch, or Nagubnikov's Still-Life. Spandikov's four works (two landscapes,

Sleep Walkers and Vase) are also unknown, although a comparison with Malevich's distortions and fragmentations was noted[55], together with, exceptionally, a muting of colour.[56] In addition, Rozanova only contributed a Still-Life and a Portrait, neither of which attracted the attention of the Petersburg press. However, it was quite possibly the latter which was described in a review of the Donkey's Tail exhibition: "... rather weak [is]... the incomprehensible portrait by O.V. Rozanova depicting some sort of man with a bright blue head of hair and the same coloured eyelashes, eyebrows and moustache."[57]

A similar freeing of colour from form is evident in the red sky, blue-grey trees and yellow faces of Rozanova's On the Boulevard (1911-12, Plate 5.4). Here she has adopted Larionov's use of infantile technique that is much more radical than her Cézannist still-lifes (see Plate 5.5). The flat forms are rendered in a child-like manner: the arms and spine of the lady walking her dog are unbroken curves from the neck; her eyes, nose and mouth are crude dashes of colour; and she floats with her dog above the ground. Rozanova's use of bright red, yellow, blue and black, suggestive of a relationship with Malevich's early primitivism[58], denies aerial perspective and asserts the two-dimensionality of the painting. Compositional balance is attained by the row of three small, inclined figures walking in the opposite direction behind the lady. Their stereotyped movement and scale, in comparison with the dominant figures, recalls the pictorial structure of lubki.

For the next year at least, Shkol'nik followed a path remarkably close to that of Rozanova. Concentrating on still-lifes

and landscapes, both artists abandoned symbolist and literary content. By early 1912 Shkol'nik's "pleasant landscapes" had given way to scenes that were "schematic, primitive and painted by a childish hand".[59] Rostislavov noted that these landscapes, especially Study of Bakhchisarai, Coffee-House of Menadii Baya, Coffee-House of Mulla Said Ogla, The Terrace as well as a Still-Life, marked a substantial change in the artist's painting. Describing them as "beautiful impressionistic works"[60], the critic concluded that Shkol'nik had drawn closer to the Moscow artists, indeed, that he was the closest of all the Petersburg artists.

Judging by the titles of Shleifer's exhibits, he had been in the Crimea in the summer of 1911. Like Shkol'nik, he also brightened his palette and simplified his forms. A work apparently from this trip, Bazaar (cat.89?)[61], depicts a bright southern vegetable market with women walking and selling cabbages among the stalls. Saturated colours painted with thick brushstrokes, dominate the composition - the trees in the background are bright green and the market stall to the right is red. Yet the distortions and emphasis on structure of the Neo-Primitivists are largely absent: the use of a single viewpoint and linear perspective, and the proportions of forms, show a greater retention of truth to visual appearances.

Filonov remained the most radical of all the Petersburg artists in the Union of Youth. His three works, described in the catalogue as sketches, are apparently lost. One was certainly the second Heads, painted in the autumn of 1910, which, according to Glebova, had been rejected by the Union of Youth the previous year

for being too avant-garde.[62] Its acceptance in 1912 suggests a move towards more progressive attitudes in the group. However, Breshko-Breshkovskii's description of Heads, closely relates it to that seen in 1911:

> ... he [Filonov] is as terribly enigmatic and charismatic as last year. There are those same heads born of a sick feverish fantasy with extra-ordinary eyes and features that don't exist in nature, but which are seen at the moment of a frightful dream. Some heads are untouched, others are eaten away by slow decomposition... And here is some kind of iridescent amphibian stretched out separately. You look at it and it is as if you are looking at cerebral matter... But the place is surprisingly beautiful in its colour tones, these soft opals and pearls intersecting one another in a play that is brightened, here and there, by the colours of the rainbow...[63]

Clearly, the complex interplay of formal experimentation and symbolism was still present in Filonov and this is reiterated by a sketch of early 1912 (Plate 5.6). This work, given the title of The Adoration of the Magi by Kovtun[64], does not have the concentrated effect of Heads, yet it is filled with eclectic stylistic and symbolic references. In this it relates to Potipaka's Earth, as well as Kandinsky's Compositions of 1910. Filonov's pictorial solution of a religious subject is intricate and tells of a profound interest in the painterly texture. The flow of colour and line, disguising the motif, recalls Kandinsky's Composition No.2, shown in Russia at the second Izdebskii Salon (February 1911), while remaining more figurative. The figures are integrated into one fluid mass which creates an ambiguous spatial structure. Some figures, such as the central king with his crown and clasped hands, and the chickens to the right, are enclosed by a dark outline. Others, such as the figures behind and to the right of the king, merge into their surroundings, because their contours

are broken. The Virgin Mary is a twisted, hunched-up figure holding the infant Jesus on her lap precariously. The donkey in the more brightly lit right-hand side of the picture is clearly inspired by the rigid forms of Russian folk toys and whistles, so popular with the Russian avant-garde. At the top of the composition, right of centre, an almost obliterated face, possibly a self-portrait as in Heads. looks on.

Such a concentration on the intrinsic qualities of the canvas combined with an intense symbolism may have been the reason for the official censorship of Filonov's watercolour Sketch of a Female Model at the Donkey's Tail exhibition two months later.[65] Filonov's Heads (both ex-catalogue) were allowed to be shown. Whatever the reason for the censorship, it is clear that the Union of Youth were, in 1912, more open to radical experiment than previously. This is also suggested by the group's rejection of portraits by Sergei Gorodetskii, on the grounds that they were too realistic.[66] The following statement concerning the necessary formal attributes of an exhibit was ascribed to the Union of Youth, and it indicates how far the group had moved, since early 1910, towards the sought-after crystallization of direction: "If it is realistic, let it be an extraordinary delight of colour, then we will take it as an exception. We do not like or want to meddle with the harmonious unity [of the exhibition]."[67]

The Muscovites

As at the fourth Union of Youth exhibition the Muscovites, with the significant exceptions of Kuprin and Mashkov, were

represented as an independent, "Donkey's Tail" section in both the catalogue and the show. Notably absent were the Burlyuks. This demarcation presaged the public break between the Donkey's Tail and Knave of Diamonds at the debate organised by the latter on 12 February 1912.[68] Kuprin's and Mashkov's exhibits consisted of a small number of still-lifes and portraits taken from the Knave of Diamonds show (including Mashkov's shocking Self-Portrait with the Portrait of Petr Konchalovskii, cat.37, Plate 5.7). Mashkov's copying of Cézannist technique and adherence to academic rules meant that he had been regarded as conservative during his year with the Donkey's Tail group from April 1911. This caused him to leave the group and subsequently found the Knave of Diamonds society, calling it after the exhibition of the same name of the previous winter.[69]

More important for the fourth exhibition was the small but striking contribution of the Donkey's Tail artists. In many ways the Neo-Primitivist works they displayed represented a climax in the development of the trend. Henceforth, new ideas were to adulterate the original system and lead the artists, especially Larionov and Goncharova, quickly into other styles. This change first began to be apparent at the Donkey's Tail exhibition in Moscow two months later.

Goncharova contributed more works than any other Donkey's Tail member: nine Neo-Primitivist canvases, including Peasants collecting Apples, Reapers, Womenfolk with Rakes, Larionov and his Platoon Leader and The Pond. The majority of these seem to have been completed in 1911 or earlier[70] and several had been previously

exhibited elsewhere. Most critics agreed that Goncharova was the leading artist of the group but disagreed about the artistic value of her work. The Pond was described by Shuiskii:

> In order to paint such a work it is necessary to attentively and lovingly observe the forms of primitive folk art for a long time. I don't mean to say that this painting pleases the eye, but then it is not intended for a salon. But if you look at it intently you get a sense of a genuine primitive. This is not a copy, not simply an imitation nor a periphrasis of a lubok. It is painted by a person capable of entering into the spirit of the ancient, possessing the primitive point of view.
>
> The angled lines and colours are similar to those in the other works by Goncharova. But the harmony of these tones, given meaning, expresses the light and warmth of summer. The figures are full of movement and when you cease to follow the crooked legs you clearly feel "how" they take in the sweep net.
>
> A few figures, the patch of rough water, the tree framing it - all this has been squeezed, as if deliberately, into the close frames and the painting seems inspired by its rich content.[71]

The work described is close to Fishing (Plate 5.8), reputed to executed in 1910.[72] However, although primitive figures and trees surround the pond in Fishing, its water, reflecting a tree and woman's legs, is still. Further, the legs are far from dominant and do not possess the distortions or movement suggested. Shuiskii's words imply a development in the plastic treatment - a greater angularity and a certain vital quality, than that seen in lyrical, static rendering of Fishing.

Goncharova's Portrait of Larionov and his Platoon Leader (cat. 111, Plate 5.9) was certainly exhibited and it displays similar decorative techniques to Fishing.[73] Here a youthful, shaven-headed Larionov and his leader, both in grey greatcoats, dominate the surface plane. Both men stand in profile, like figures transferred from a lubok or simple Russian gingerbreads.

The distorted, free form of the latter is also found in the huge, disproportionately hand of the platoon leader. The flat and mask-like faces of the men are united by the far-off look. Behind them, separated by an area of unarticulated space, is a series of two-dimensional white, triangular tents and two small figures, echoing those in the background of Fishing. The schematic foliage designs in lubki are transplanted to the canvas in the stylised sapling which rises from the ground to the right of the men with unnatural symmetry.

Other, perhaps slightly later, works depict peasants filling the picture space with their clumsy, monumental forms. Thus The Reapers (cat. 112, Plate 5.10) shows four scythe-bearing peasant men, their faces, either in profile or looking directly out of the painting. Despite their two-dimensionality the figures, filling the composition, have sculptural qualities - the simple, generalised blocks of form and colour that compose their bodies; the large hands in which the fingers are united in complete units; and an incisive, bold linearity. There is also a dynamism, lacking in the aforementioned works, but increasingly evident in Goncharova's peasant studies. This combination of dynamic and monumental qualities brings unusual force to the painting and, encouraged by the use of highlighting taken from the icon, fills it with a feeling of the spirit of the subject - which is both the reapers and the painting process itself.

Larionov contributed six works including Autumn, The Baker, Peacock and Head of a Soldier, some of which had been shown at his personal one-day exhibition in Moscow a month earlier (8 December

1911). Breshko-Breshkovskii described Study of a Head (cat. 121) as depicting a man eaten away by leprosy, with half his face painted crimson and the other half left as a clean canvas.[74] Head of a Sailor (Plate 5.11), while not identifiable with Larionov's catalogue entries, was probably painted in early 1912, and shows a similar severity of compositional solution.[75] Here the linearity of his graphic 'infantile primitivism', as well as the decomposition of object painting later seen in rayism, is seen. Form is described by a few bold, geometricised strokes. There is little modelling and no attempt to define space. The straight lines defining the man's chin, lip and brow are continued beyond the limits of the facial features they delineate. Features are simplified and distorted. As a result, Head of a Sailor has a schematic appearance. The "putrefied" effect seen in Larionov's work, was condemned by the critics as the height of bad taste[76], yet it indicates his aim, in accordance with Bobrov's theory of 'purism', to go no further than pictorially hinting at a subject. Despite such innovation, Bazankur still considered Larionov a "Wanderer" in comparison to Goncharova, due to his "strange but comparatively well depicted" genre and landscape paintings.[77]

Of the remaining Donkey's Tail exhibitors, Tatlin and Malevich were to join and influence the future direction of the Union of Youth more than any others.[78] Tatlin showed two works entitled Fishmonger and a series of designs for "Tsar Maksem'yan". Fishmonger (cat. 131/132?, 1911, Plate 5.12) reiterates the exploration of structure seen in his Self-Portrait and Naval Uniforms. Although Larionov had contributed Head of a Sailor and

Goncharova's Pond had depicted fishermen, Tatlin was particularly drawn to the atmosphere of the sea. At the Donkey's Tail two months later this tendency was clearly Eastern: "... his canvases are impregnated with tar, sun and the salty freshness of the green wave of life in Eastern ports - views of Tripoli, Alexandria, Beirut, haggling over rope, dark harbour dens etc."[79]

In Fishmonger, the handling of the paint is calligraphic and both the picture space and imagery are composed from planes defined by intersecting curves. There is a dynamic flattening of space as the line of the horizon is absent and the foreground, dominated by the head of the fishmonger and his work bench, is tipped up. This was a device employed by icon painters, and as Milner has shown, was not an isolated formal element borrowed by Tatlin.[80] The dominance of the icon in Russian art until the eighteenth century meant that Russia had no indigenous tradition of depicting space according to systems of perspective. This, aligned with the icon's structural control and emphasis on materials, made it a perfect object of study for the Russian Neo-Primitivists: "For Tatlin, becoming aware of the breakdown in the West of the credibility of illusionistic picture space, the icon painters provided an experienced and proven source of enquiry."[81]

To the left of the fishmonger is his work - fish on a bench and two customers. The scale of these two figures indicates distance but the loose brushwork emphasises the picture surface. Broad, sweeping curves dictate the structure of the painting, and, together with the separation of the colours, they indicate Tatlin's new formal concerns. Milner has indicated the importance of these:

> the intense concentration of the painter upon the surface of his painting and a turning away from illusions of depth and recession... painting had become primarily a structure, rhythmically organized, into which the features of familiar experience were insinuated. Circular curves subdivide the canvas and come to contain imagery only after their rhythmic and proportional relationship is established.[62]

There is none of the monumentality or cumbersome form, nor the brilliance of colour, seen in Goncharova's and Malevich's depictions of peasants; yet the artists are united by the awareness of the process of making the object.

Tatlin also expressed his primitivism in twenty-four costume and decoration sketches (cat. 133) created for Tomashevkii's November 1911 Moscow production of Tsar Maksem'yan.[63] Unlike the majority of surviving sketches for the earlier Union of Youth production of this folk play (thirty of which were also on show) these comprise a unified group: most possessed a rhythmic dynamism and structural symmetry, absent in the Union of Youth's work.

Tatlin's stage sets imply changes not evident in the Petersburg production. Hall in a Castle (Plate 5.13) depicts a dark, vaulted chamber that is bare and foreboding, contrasting with the bright red, green, blue and yellow interplay of Tsar Maksem'yan's throne room (Plate 5.14). In this second work there is a dynamic and forceful symmetry. The centrally positioned Tsar's throne is seen under a yellow tent-like canopy embellished with huge foliage patterns on which stand, in the top corners, two equally large cats. These cats appear to leap from the space of the background onto the picture surface, creating a decorative rhythm with the plants. On the red and blue striped pedestals either side of the tent stand the skorokhod-marshal and Venus.

Attention is also drawn to the intrinsic qualities (i.e. the surface patterning) of the work in Tatlin's sketch of Tsar Maksem'yan's Throne (Plate 5.15) which repeats the enclosed space of the tent in the preceding work. Here, however, Maksem'yan is missing and the steps to his throne have been replaced by black and red squares. The geometric construction is stressed by the two guards in blue either side of the throne and, intersecting their halberds, two highly stylized orange cockerels.

The costume sketches for Venus the Beauty (Plate 5.16) and the Skorokhod-Marshal (Plate 5.17) employ the calligraphic line of Tatlin's fishermen drawings. However, the former is marked by a loose, curvilinear stroke, while the latter, as if to express his swift movement, is constructed almost exclusively of sharply intersecting straight lines.

Malevich contributed four works (compared with twenty-four at the Donkey's Tail). Like Larionov, Tatlin and Goncharova, his subjects were taken from daily life. His vocabulary remained Neo-Primitivist without showing any sign of the forthcoming impact of Cubism. Two gouaches, On the Boulevard (cat.125, 1911, Plate 5.18) and Argentinian Polka (cat.123, 1911, Plate 5.19) depict clumsy, monumental figures drawn in broad black outline and filling much of the picture space. Bright colour contrasts dominate. On the Boulevard has features in common with Rozanova's work of the same title (Plate 5.4): colour expresses the artificiality of the work by its saturation; a disproportionately small, black figure strides from left to right in the top left corner; space is ambiguous; and the shrubs highly stylized. However, Malevich's composition is

square (a format used by icon painters) and he emphasises the geometric construction of his work by the strong vertical of the monumental figure and the broad horizontal of the bench.

The colours are more subdued in Malevich's Argentinian Polka. Ostensibly the subject is more dynamic but the figures obtain the same static, doll-like quality as On the Boulevard. The couple's red faces, one in profile the other face-on, are reduced to stylizations with lozenge-shaped eyes. Indeed, that of the female figure is a full-face eye in a profile face, a consistent primitivist feature in Malevich's work, but also a characteristic of early proto-Cubism, e.g. Demoiselles d'Avignon. Here Malevich has used the most popular dance of the day as his subject. In fact, he seems to have transferred the couple, and even the written title at the foot of the painting, from a photograph published a few weeks earlier in Ogonek (Plate 5.20).[84] The painting deliberately contrasts with the photo. Although the proportions are the same, from a small black and white photo the subject has been enlarged to a metre in height and given a background of crude orange and yellow shading. The elegant, if rather stiff, figures of the photo have changed into a dumpy, clumsy couple. Although Malevich's brushwork is Cézannist, his use of primitivist elements in the depiction of this latest urban craze not only drew attention to the peculiarities of the painted image but also served to parody and shock. This conjunction of aims shows that at this time Malevich shared Larionov's emphasis on the contemporary and urban, and also felt an allegiance with his deliberate ridicule of convention and society.

The Donkey's Tail exhibition Moscow 11 March - 8 April 1912

If, at the Union of Youth's fourth show there had been a sense of 'holding back' in the Muscovites exhibits, this was very far from being the case at the Donkey's Tail show in Moscow a little later. However, the Union of Youth added little that was new or previously unshown to their exhibits and in this respect there is little to note. Thus, their fifth, out of seven exhibitions, continued the consistent mixture of trends seen earlier, with symbolist, Fauvist and 'academic' elements most apparent. The Ranee Utro reviewer, noted the common aim in the Union of Youth: "The Muscovites have a broader range of artistic gifts. They have extremes. But on the other hand, the Petersburgers are more even. As theatrical critics would say 'they are an ensemble'".[65]

In all, sixteen Union of Youth exhibitors contributed just over one hundred works, a few more than in Petersburg. Absent after the fourth exhibition were the Muscovites Mashkov and Kuprin, together with Kuz'mina-Karavaeva and Pangalutsi. Markov and Bubnova reappeared. Reviews in the local press were brief but sympathetic. Public interest and financial success, both of which were of the utmost importance to the groups, proved great. The exhibition drew over seven thousand visitors and the income from paintings sold reached ten thousand roubles. The Union of Youth chairman Zheverzheev proved the most valuable patron, purchasing twenty-seven works in all.[66]

Larionov informed Shkol'nik, in late January or early February 1912, that the joint exhibition of their respective groups was being postponed until Easter. He explained that there was no spare

exhibiting space in the city: "... nine exhibitions have opened... and at the venue which we had already arranged and for which we had received permission - the Society of Art Lovers - the society has decided to prolong its own exhibition."[87] He also wrote that the group preferred (perhaps after the poor location of the Petersburg show) not to exhibit in a flat, and so had to decided to hire the halls of the new School of Painting building where the excellent light could pay tribute to his new experiments. Simultaneously, a notice appeared in Golos Moskvy stating that the opening of the Donkey's Tail exhibition, set for 29 January, was being delayed.[88]

In his letter, Larionov dismissed the Petersburg gossip that the Donkey's Tail and the Knave of Diamonds (who had opened their first exhibition as a society on 25 January), were to fuse. He asserted that he had no time for artists like Burlyuk who dashed from one group to another. He made his feelings public on 12 February at the first Knave of Diamonds debate, to which Burlyuk contributed. Because the opening of the Donkey's Tail had been postponed, it opened two weeks after the Knave of Diamonds closed, rather than running simultaneously. To some extent this was advantageous to the Donkey's Tail. Not only did it mean that the joint exhibition with the Union of Youth in Petersburg could continue until 12 February, but it also gave the artists extra time to complete new canvases - making the work more 'modern' than that of the rival Knave of Diamonds. It also emphasised the distinction between the two groups and allowed the public to end the exhibition season with the Donkey's Tail most fresh in their memory.

The Knave of Diamonds became more popular during its

exhibition, mainly because of the arrival of the French works two weeks after the opening: two canvases by Picasso from Vollard's collection, six by Camoin, two by Zherebtsova (a Russian living in Paris) and five by Van Dongen.[89] The infamous intervention of Larionov and Goncharova at the debate on 12 February also brought attention, though whether there was any complicity between the two factions is doubtful.

The new premises for the Donkey's Tail exhibition gave the organisers an excellent way of dividing themselves from the Union of Youth - the latter being located in the upper balcony of the hall. However, this meant that no room remained for Larionov's proposed display of old and modern lubki.[90]

The changes in the Union of Youth's exhibits since January were small but significant. New works by Bubnova, including the Picking Pears, The Prayer, People and Horses and In the Mines, were praised for their simplicity and effective colour combinations.[91] Markov's three paintings, In the Garden, A Spiritual Point of View and Dissonance, were ignored by the critics but their titles suggest a varied subject matter and a retention of metaphysical content, hinting at the breadth of his artistic interests, which was simultaneously expressed in his articles published in The Union of Youth journal (see below).

Some works shown at the Union of Youth exhibition in January were missing at the Donkey's Tail. These were often replaced - usually by works exhibited in 1911 or, more rarely, by previously unexhibited work. Filonov appeared, ex-catalogue, with his two Heads and some sketches.[92] Rozanova added two still-lifes, a self-

portrait, a second Restaurant and a sketch to her earlier exhibits. Spandikov chose to show work largely from the 1911 Union of Youth exhibition. Zel'manova added a couple of previously unseen portraits and a landscape, while Shkol'nik contributed three new works under the title Winter and a study of Jugs. Winter (cat.93/95?, Plate 5.21) is a Fauvist village scene, although the diverging lines of the white road create spatial recession. Large, undetailed blocks of form are marked by cloisonné technique. Emphatic colour contrasts are implied by the varied tones of the reproduction.

The nineteen Donkey's Tail artists included Bart, Bobrov, Goncharova, Kirill Zdanevich, the Larionov brothers, Le-Dantyu, Malevich, Morgunov, Rogovin, Sagaidachnyi, Tatlin, Fon-Vizin, Chagall and Shevchenko. They exhibited a total of three hundred and seven works. Although their unity was less apparent than that of the Union of Youth, still the over-riding tendency was Neo-Primitivist, even though, for the first time, Futurist elements began to appear. Tatlin, for example, again contributed the twenty-four designs for Tsar Maksem'yan and his calligraphic works with harbour-life themes (including The Fishmonger and the Self-Portrait). To these he added In Turkestan and four still-life and landscape studies from 1909. With motifs taken from the Northern African ports of Tripoli, Alexandria and Beirut, the mood of Tatlin's work was distinctly non-European, in keeping with Larionov's desire for his group's art to be distinguishable from that of the West (see below, Chapter Six and Seven).

Tatlin's use of Byzantine rules of pictorial construction in his exhibits, as well as his interest in sea life, was by no means unique. Sagaidachnyi is also reported to have studied ancient forms, and with a "beautiful colouring and confident line"[93], in his Triptych. His other works were also dominated by the East and the sea, e.g. Constantinople, Wharf, and Turks on Boats. Similarly, Zdanevich was noted for "much distance, air and sun in his Port and atmosphere in his Town"[94], while Rogovin's work was dominated by an "archaic" tendency.[95]

Of the other minor artists, Ivan Larionov's exhibits were described as "primitive sentimental landscapes"[96] and Fon-Vizin's fifteen untitled contributions as imbued with "mysticism".[97] In addition, Bart retained literary and symbolist content in his illustrations to Pushkin and Sologub, as well as evidence of his academic training: "Bart has shown himself an excellent graphic artist. The bold line of his drawings, the ease of his work and his fine taste speaks for itself in all his sketches: Dancers, Pipe Player, Soldier and many others..."[98]

Malevich's continued interest in primitive forms and peasant subjects was much in evidence in his twenty-four exhibits. Contrary to Douglas's assertion, it is difficult to prove that the "most striking aspect of these... is Malevich's newly subdued palette"[99] since the works, most of which can be identified, consisted primarily of "irrepressibly furious red and yellow colours".[100] For instance, the Fauvist gouache Man with a Sack (Cat. 153, Plate 5.22) is a composition of bright yellow, red and light blue, in which the clumsy, painterly figure with flattened

feet walks up a yellow and orange street. The same is the case for the bright Floor Polishers (Cat. 164, Plate 5.23), with its emphatic curvilinear outlines.

Moreover, the critics' sparse comments concerning his work do not suggest that Malevich had started using cylindrical and metallic forms. It is often assumed that Taking in the Rye (Plate 6.12) was shown[101], because an identical title appears in the catalogue. Possibly the Donkey's Tail Taking in the Rye (cat. 150) was based on the more traditional primitivist sketch (Plate 5.24). This would correspond with the style of his other contributions. The later Taking in the Rye (Plate 6.12) was probably first shown as Harvest in Moscow at the "Modern Painting" exhibition in late 1912 (see Chapter Six). Certainly it coincides with the style of his works simultaneously shown at the sixth Union of Youth exhibition and with Glagol's description of the "Modern Painting" exhibits:

> Malevich's compositions from pieces of tin canisters are worthy of the public's attention... If you want to be a Cubist then take a few dozen Gromov herring tins, painted in the colours of the rainbow, and make from them an image of some human figures, mowers, reapers etc.. Then copy them all onto the canvas.[102]

In Malevich's oil Peasant Women in Church (cat. 151, Plate 5.25), however, the laconic, clear linearity of the gouaches is replaced by a static, fused mass of repeated gesture and expression. The mask-like faces suggest a new awareness of Picasso's proto-cubist period, for example, Seated Woman (1908) and The Three Women (1908), then in Shchukin's collection.[103] The three figures in the foreground have a rounded shape that predicts

Malevich's ensuing cylindrical form. Although there are brilliantly contrasting colour highlights the work possesses steel-greys, matt browns and dull greens absent in the gouaches.

The artist with whom Malevich had most in common was Goncharova. Her fifty-four works in the catalogue consisted primarily of Neo-Primitivist canvases with peasant motifs, though a new adulteration of the style was also in evidence. This was amply illustrated by five works representing "artistic possibilities apropos the peacock": Peacock (Chinese style), Peacock in the Wind (Futurist style), Peacock in Bright Sunshine (Egyptian style), White peacock (Cubist style) and Spring Peacock (style of Russian embroidery). Here a single subject was exploited in order to draw attention to the image-making process. She used a square format, like Malevich, but the interpretation of the styles described in the titles is extremely loose, and without any attempt to emulate or imitate (see Plates 5.26 and 5.27).

Goncharova's Harvest (Plate 5.28) was composed in a similar vein. Based on a circular rhythm of curves around the figure, the work recalls Tatlin's Fishmonger. However, the rhythm in Goncharova's work is less coherent and she disguises the brushwork, giving a collage-like appearance to the picture surface. In accordance with the Neo-Primitivists' aims, she abandons systems of perspective and illusory depth and light. The canvas is divided into two parts - yellow and blue - that crudely represent light and shade. The orange one-eyed figure, against a huge yellow crescent, is totally two-dimensional. Only his sleeves have a streak of white highlighting. The apparently arbitrary positioning of wheat

in the sun, a white sickle, floating on the picture surface in the darkened side of the canvas, and a black star with a red crescent moon has both associative and structural purpose. They combine to imbue the picture with its dominating movement, representing the swing of the sickle and the everchanging cycle of time.[104]

A concentration on the process of painting and its detachment from visual appearances, often combined with a certain spiritual content in Goncharova's work of this period. Her isolation of particular artistic devices could be accompanied by a contemplative mood, as in her four Evangelists. While using the forms of medieval frescoes, the figures of the Apostles are distinguished primarily by colour (for instance, Luke is grey and John is green), rather than particular individual charactistics. The brushwork is bold and undisguised. Features are crudely depicted and the figures are squashed into the picture space. It was these, together with four other religious compositions, that were censored at the Donkey's Tail exhibition, presumably because they were regarded as blasphemous.[105]

Compared to Goncharova and Malevich, Larionov's palette was extremely muted.[106] The majority of his forty-three canvases were Neo-Primitivist (including numerous pictures from his Soldiers series).[107] However, the Donkey's Tail, "an inventory of Neo-Primitivist achievements"[108], marked a new turning point away from Neo-Primitivism and was perhaps most significant for its introduction of Futurist elements into Russian art. Goncharova exhibited a few works that suggested a study of Futurism (e.g. Peacock in the Wind (Futurist Style) and Street Movement).

Larionov did also, his attention almost certainly having been drawn by the publicity surrounding the Exhibition of Italian Futurists in Paris just a few weeks earlier (see below, this Chapter and Chapter Six):

> ... in his latest works he is trying to find a new style of movement (Futurism), characterising the seething modern life, and he is not afraid to call his canvases, covered with many-legged twisted little figures, crazy trams and falling cabs - "photographic studies from nature" or "monumental photos".[109]

The Union of Youth Nos. 1 and 2. Published end April and June 1912

Very shortly after the Donkey's Tail exhibition closed, the Union of Youth produced its first publication - a small anthology of articles by its members with six black and white reproductions of predominantly Eastern works of art (the only European work was Michelangelo's Holy Family). This contrasted with the second issue of the journal which contained only one original article by a Union of Youth member: Markov's continuation of "The Principles of the New Art" (accompanied by translations of Chinese poetry), the introduction to which had been placed in the first journal. Other items were translations from catalogues of recent exhibitions in Paris and Munich: the Bernheim-Jeune Exhibition of Italian Futurists (Paris, February 1912); Van Dongen's exhibition (Bernheim-Jeune, 6-24 June 1911); and the Second Neue Künstlervereinigung (Moderne Galerie, Munich 1-14 September 1910, Le Fauconnier's "The Work of Art"). These articles were accompanied by reproductions of paintings by Union of Youth members.[110] The idea was simple: the Union of Youth, that is Markov, Spandikov, Shkol'nik and Zheverzheev in particular, wanted "to acquaint the public with all trends in modern painting"[111], as well as clearly wanting to define those areas of art which they considered significant. Thus they charted their own creative development and gave their "crystallisation of direction" a written foundation.

The publication of The Union of Youth marked a new phase in the Union of Youth's history. Hitherto its public activity had

been dominated by exhibitions. Henceforth it was to be as active as a publishing house and organiser of debates, as it was as an exhibiting society and theatrical sponsor. This change reflected a new maturity and confidence in the group's artistic output. It also placed the group at the forefront of avant-garde aesthetics in Russia. No other society championed the cause of the avant-garde as early as the Union of Youth. In fact, the publications emerged as the result of two years self-examination and heralded the subsequent changes in style and personnel that characterised the Union of Youth during its final eighteen months. Here, the content of the journals is briefly outlined, and analysis of any specific relevance to subsequent developments in the Union of Youth, is largely left until the following chapters.

The publication of two declarations by the Italian Futurist painters in The Union of Youth was significant since it acquainted the Russian public with previously untranslated texts outlining the artists' principles.[112] The Technical Manifesto, first published in Milan in April 1910[113], set the tone for a series of manifestoes and proclamations made by the Russian avant-garde - not least those issued at the Union of Youth's debates, including the group's own "Credo". The Italians' denunciations of the past, art critics, imitation and their abandonment of the illusion of three-dimensional space for the representation of dynamic sensation was also to find reflection in Russian art.

The Technical Manifesto and "Exhibitors to the Public" are generalized statements of theory, which do not enter into specific details concerning the means of expression. Yet they do mention

the use of Divisionism and multiple forms, deny Greek principles of anatomical representation in favour of individual intuitive expression and call for a "synthesis of what one remembers and what one sees".[114] What should be painted was "the particular rhythm of each object, its inclination, movement, or, more exactly its interior force"[115] - sentiments which closely concur with Markov's "The Principles of the New Art". The concept of force-lines, "the beginnings or the prolongations of the rhythms impressed upon our sensibility"[116] by the object, introduced a psychological aspect to European modern art akin to that which was already present in Russia (as seen in Kul'bin's early statements). Unsurprisingly, the Russian youth (including Larionov, the Burlyuks and Kul'bin) upon hearing of Italian Futurism, were henceforth to display a propensity towards its ideas.

Markov's influence on these first two issues of The Union of Youth was immense. Not only did his own article take up much of the space but he also worked on the translations of the Chinese poems with Vyacheslav Egor'ev[117], persuaded Bubnova to write a note on Persian art (a theme he chose himself), and charged Bubnova to translate the Futurist manifesto from the French.[118] Even the reproductions in the first number reflected his interests: "... at that time Markov bought Münsterberg's richly illustrated book on Chinese art... the reproduction of the Buddhist sculpture was probably taken from Münsterberg" (Plate 5.30)[119]; and appeared essentially as illustrations to his and Bubnova's articles.

The first two numbers of The Union of Youth were similar in format and were produced in runs of five hundred copies. The cover

of the first reproduced A Young Lady Reading by the seventeenth century Persian artist, Rizā Abāssi. Above the miniature the name of the group was printed in black letters on violet-coloured textured paper. Inside the journal violet and green pages combined with the sepia reproductions to give the journal a rather refined appearance. The majority of the reproductions were of Persian and Indian miniatures; at least two, if not three, of which were by Rizā Abāssi.[120]

Bubnova's article, "Persian Art", published under the pseudonym D. Varvarova, echoed the current interest in stylistic device. She examined the Persian miniaturist's freedom from visual representation; the lack, or reduction, of modelling; the graphic qualities of the planes; and the flattening of forms. All these elements, together with a conventional strength of colour, imbued the Persian work with "regal tranquility". She concluded that the European striving for realism prevents such attainments, her remarks generally coinciding with Markov's theory: "Without contemplating the expression of real life he [the Persian] uses exclusively plastic means, a singular passion for abstracted form and line outside of time and space, to create a fragrenced life."[121]

The Union of Youth (No. 1) also contained Spandikov's note about Bobrov's lecture at the Troitskii Theatre in January (discussed above), an article by Shkol'nik entitled "The Museum of Modern Russian Painting" and a brief chronicle. The latter stated that the group was establishing a library of art books which already contained publications about Japanese, Chinese and European

artists and which was to be supplemented during the next year by a series of books brought from Western Europe. It also claimed that the Union of Youth was presently organising a "special museum of photographs", which included pictures of "frescoes, architectural monuments, miniatures, mosaics and paintings of past and present artists, both Russian and European."[122]

Finally, the chronicle announced that Spandikov was editing a translation of Worringer's Abstraction and Empathy [Abstraktion und Einfühlung, 1908] which, though it never appeared, was due out in late 1912. This is especially significant since it indicates that the Union of Youth gave considerable attention to, and placed considerable value on, developments in Germany, giving some weight to Le Dantyu's criticisms. Indeed, Worringer was an acquaintance of Kandinsky and a leading supporter and propagandist of the Expressionist painters. His theory was derived from Lipps' idea of empathy - the spectator's identification with a work of art as the basis for aesthetic appreciation - which suggested that colours, lines, forms and spaces have specific emotive qualities. This, together with Worringer's notion that modern art had to respond to an inner calling for the selective organization or abstraction of nature, clearly has much common ground with Markov's ideas.[123]

Both Spandikov and Markov could have worked on the translation since they were both fluent German speakers. Markov's notion of 'non-constructive' art (see below) has much in common with Worringer's abstract art - as a manifestation of an internal drive to transcend attachment, as well as the contingencies and limitations of the phenomenal realm. By 1910, both recognised the

insufficiency of the perceptible and were attracted to geometric, crystalline forms (as seen in Egyptian, Gothic and Oriental art). However, Markov allows, as shown above (Chapter Three), a synthesis of representation and abstraction, that, unlike Worringer, recognizes empathic qualities as inherent in abstraction.

Shkol'nik's article supplemented the preceding plans by observing that the Union of Youth was trying to found a museum of the latest Russian painting. Defending modernism, he attacked its critics and foresaw the time when the stigmatised art of the day would find its rightful place in history. He began with a scathing diatribe directed against the ignorant exhibition-going public and the critics: "These people cannot understand or explain the trembling searches of the young and cannot comprehend the gradual development of art. They look at a work of art only as an object of enjoyment in our everyday life."[124]

He went on to criticise museums for conservatism and wasting "endless money daily on the same thing". Russian museums, he complained, were full of "huge canvases in gold frames... armies of copyists of the most familiar images colouring in photographs of the paintings of Shishkin, Repin and Makovskii".[125] He claimed that it was "often useless to wander" among such works because there was almost nothing for the young artist to see and absolutely nothing for him to learn. Such a polemic was the most strongly worded public statement by a representative of the Union of Youth to date, going further in its attacks on the art establishment and society than Markov's critical, but more programmatical, "Russian Secession" of 1910.

Where Markov had attempted to explain the new forms and colours, with attention to historical precedent, Shkol'nik took the value of the art for granted, and simply looked forward to the day when it could be recognised for what it was i.e. as part of the natural and gradual development of Russian art. At the same time, he saw this acceptance of the new art as signifying a great rebirth and his words are scattered with renaissance metaphors concerning this new cognition and new life:

> ... when, from the gloom of the dark night is reborn the new morning of a splendid dawn, when the marvellous meadow of future creativity breaks into blossom and from the nightmarish lines and wild colours are reborn new and beautiful images, then Russian life will want to see those paths which have taken Russian art here. But much, much will be lost in the dust of our philistines and it will be difficult to see those particles which, through their searches, drove painting to the splendid uprising.[126]

Without speculating on the content of the new art, other than to assert that it represented the experiences of the time, Shkol'nik felt the solution to popular incomprehension was to create a museum... "which in the future would present a general picture of the gradual development of Russian painting of our times".[127]

Although Skhol'nik's words imply the ability of the new artists to see the world around them with different eyes there is no mention of altered consciousness or an overtly mystical sense in his remarks. The nearest he gets is by admitting that their search is inspired by "something delightful and charming, that, without knowing the bounds of its fantasy, goes beyond the limits of ordinary life and creates a broad and beautiful art."[128] These hints at the extra-sensibility of the young artists coincide with the increasing influence in their circles, of Uspenskii's ideas

about higher states of consciousness and the fourth dimension. Indeed, Shkol'nik's vision, while less apocalyptic, presages that of the The Victory over the Sun, the Futurist zaum opera staged by the Union of Youth in 1913. Yet, Shkol'nik abstained from positing any psychological theory for the new art, restricting his comments about its many-sided appearance to observations of the following components: "wild forms, strange compositions and incomprehensible colours, a passion for theory and mathematics"; and dividing the young Russian modernists into "Futurists, Cubists and Purists".[129]

Such a proclamation by a foremost member of the Union of Youth acts as one of the earliest confirmations of the prevalent tendencies within the group and their interpretation of the current artistic situation. Yet, despite his support of modernism, Shkol'nik refrained from substantiating his own, or his group's, actual position among the trends. Still, his observations throw light upon his influences. Thus, his division of the artists into Futurists, Cubists and Purists although new, was not his own. News of the Italian Futurists' February exhibition in Paris had quickly reached Russia and was being rapidly assimilated. The term "Futurist" became part of the vocabulary of the modernists from the Donkey's Tail exhibition onwards.

Kul'bin had apparently made no mention of Futurism in his two lectures (one of which was entitled "New Trends in Art") at the recent Congress of Artists. Yet he envisaged, like Shkol'nik, a new dawn provoked by modern art, and by 31 March 1912 spoke about Futurism in a lecture at the Tenishev Institute in Petersburg. There he pronounced the latest trends as: "severe lapidary

primitivism... Cubism... Purism... Free Creativity... and the new content introduced by the Futurists".[130] Kul'bin described the adherents to the new styles; identifying, for example, the Donkey's Tail with "Purism" and the search for "rational form"; the Knave of Diamonds with Cubism; and himself and Kandinsky with "Free Creativity". He made no mention of the Union of Youth. Perhaps in response, Shkol'nik omitted "Free Creativity" from his list of new trends.

Kul'bin's lecture had been entitled "Modern Painting and the Role of the Youth in the Evolution of Art". It was organised by The Arts Association, the emergent art society with which Kul'bin had close links. It attracted a huge audience and lasted over two hours. If, as the reports suggest, he ignored the Union of Youth on such an occasion, it could only be interpreted as a snub, especially considering the parallel evolution and proximity of Kul'bin's ideas to those of the group. In the light of this, it is interesting to note that the evening also included a debate, which included discussion of "the youth as the heirs to the artistic past of the country... a museum of special art literature and the youth... the independent appearances of the youth".[131] That the Union of Youth should, within a month, propagate the idea, not only of a museum for modern art, but also of their establishment of an art library and call for all those interested in such endeavours to help, was perhaps not uncoincidental.

Vladimir Markov's "The Principles of the New Art"[132]

Markov's article, although entitled "The Principles of the New Art", only discussed two principles - that of beauty and that of free creativity. Others, such as texture, weight, plane, dynamism and consonance were to follow in subsequent essays.[133] These did not appear, although Markov expanded his discussion of texture into an essay which was subsequently published as a separate booklet, Faktura.[134] The remaining principles were examined *en passant* in his published analyses of various primitive and exotic arts (Chinese poetry[135], the art of Easter Island[136], African art[137]) but were not explored in separate essays. Therefore, the two parts of the article published in The Union of Youth must be considered only as an introduction to the principles which the author deemed fundamental to the new art.

The first part of the essay was published in the last week of April and coincides almost to the day with the publication of the Der Blaue Reiter almanac in Munich. This highlights the parallel development of artistic ideas in Russia and Germany. Indeed, of the twelve contributors to Der Blaue Reiter, seven were Russian. Kandinsky's "On the Spiritual in Art" had been read by Kul'bin at the All-Russian Congress (29 and 31 December 1911), and both Kul'bin and Burlyuk had contributed to Der Blaue Reiter, knowing of its intended publication from the autumn of 1911.[138] Markov himself was in direct contact with Munich artists in the summer of 1912, as he tried on behalf of the Union of Youth, to collect works for the proposed museum and library.[139] A letter to Markov from

Marc of 3 August 1912, refers to a letter from Markov of 28 July 1912, but indicates that the two have never met. It also states incidentally, that Macke was in Moscow in Spring 1912, where he met Burlyuk, Larionov and Goncharova.[140] Whatever the extent of Markov's acquaintance with the ideas of the Blaue Reiter when he wrote "The Principles of the New Art", there are striking points for comparison.

Bubnova wrote that Markov's aim was:

> ... to disclose and establish those eternal and fundamental principles which constitute the specific character of plastic arts of all times and all peoples, and constitute the basic and unchanging elements of that "how" of art, the existence of which is indeed recognised both aurally and literally.[141]

Thus the "Principles of the New Art" concerned not new aesthetic principles but the rediscovery of the essential artistic truths. The new would emanate from this rediscovery. Hence Markov's lengthy discussion of art that was neither new nor Russian, and his international primitivism. Indeed, in the second part of the essay which concentrated on the "Principle of Free Creativity", he referred to Chinese and other ancient art forms, determining that "even the freest art is based on plagiarism ... because old, beloved forms instilled in the soul unconsciously repeat themselves."[142]

Markov himself borrowed terms and themes from Kul'bin, Kandinsky and Worringer. In his 31 March 1912 lecture Kul'bin had discussed: "the great significance of the "free creativity" trend (here – Kandinsky), where there is the striving away from reality to the fabulous, away from photography and the forms of nature to a full painterly fantasy"[143]. Such a sense of abstraction, of art as

a symbolic essence abstracted from nature, was prevalent not only in Kandinsky but also in both the literary and art work of Kul'bin and Markov.

On 30 December 1911 in his lecture "Harmony, Dissonance and Close Combinations in Life and Art", Kul'bin argued that only "new art" ever existed. To talk of old or ancient art was to talk of that which contained the new and thus Shakespeare and Beethoven were regarded as "new artists". He went so far as to find "the justification for modern art precisely in the art of the past".[144] Markov's conception of "the new art" is identical to this, and this explains the title of his essay together with his examination of the ancient.

Without questioning the need of art to search for beauty, Markov began his article with a discussion of beauty's qualities: "Universal beauty, created from the earliest times by various peoples of both hemispheres, is the reflection and expression of the Divine as far as it has hitherto revealed itself to the people."[145] The perception and expression of beauty was, therefore, conditioned by experience. Thus art is an act of plastic principles, whether conscious or not, and modern art should be "a development of those bequeathed to us by the past".[146] Such a development needed care, because often the most worthless principles could be mistakenly adopted. Here Markov posited two opposing conceptions: that of constructiveness and that of non-constructiveness. He concentrated on the latter for it was in this that he discerned art's greatest potential. Clearly influenced by Worringer's discussion of mimetic art in the Classical and Oriental

world, Markov considered the principle of constructiveness, as seen in Greek art and European art generally since the Renaissance, as that where "everything is logical, rational and scientifically grounded. Gradations and transitions are clearly expressed in everything as subordinations to the main. In a word everything is constructive."[147]

Markov contrasted this severe doctrine of logic with the beauty of the illogical, or "non-constructiveness" that was to be found in primitive and Eastern art. As an example, he discussed Michelangelo's Doni Tondo (The Holy Family)[148] and noted that the arms of each figure possess identical anatomical correctness, their outer lines being a synthesis of all inner anatomical necessities. Markov complained that there was no need for such a studied response: "imagine that you free these external lines from the strict accord with scientific anatomy".[149] Buddhist art, as illustrated by an early seventh century Japanese sculpture of Kannon (Plate 5.30), was free from such an oppressive service to science. Here the vast ears, wafer thin body and thick neck "submit to other, latent needs of beauty."[150] In such religious art the Divine was perceived by the artist through the dissonance of forms, the play of heavy with light, and the linear rhythms. Such an idealisation denied the necessity of adhering to the laws of nature. Markov interpreted this freedom as justification for modern artists to concentrate on formal properties in order to open up a whole new world of possibilities for the beautiful. But he did not deny that the principle of constructiveness could be penetrated with beauty. Rather, he saw its potential as limited,

its approach restricted to "this world". Art could be freer. It could be an expression of "feeling, love and dream"[151], that is, it could be the symbol of the self rather than mimetic of nature.

However, such a principle of free creativity was far from simple, for it required modern European man to reject conventions already established for centuries. Thus Markov examined the rôle of the principle of chance in art. The Chinese had long used chance, not as the sole principle for artistic creation but as one among several. Through such an approach, where, for example, the ringing of hundreds of tiny pagoda bells by gusts of wind constitutes music, many "wonders" could be discovered:

> Chance opens up whole worlds and begets wonders. Many marvellous and unique harmonies and scales, and the enchanting tonality common to Chinese and Japanes pictures, owe their existence only to the fact that they arose by chance, were appreciated by a sensitive eye and were crystallized.[152]

Modern artists who employed chance as stimuli for specific purposes were still operating with European constructive principles, using chance as "a means of stimulation, a departure point for logical thought", rather than allowing the principle of chance to be "the consequence of completely blind, extrinsic influences."[153] Those artists of whom Markov was critical here included his friend Mitel'man, whose method of splashing random spots of paint on small pieces of cardboard and then using the spots to create fantastic miniature landscapes, was "inoffensively chaffed at"[154] by Markov:

> I know many artists who daub their canvas just as God wills them to, and who then merely snatch from the chaos what they think is most successful and depending on their powers of imagination, subject everything to their desires. Those who devise scales, harmonies and decorative motifs are especially inclined towards this. Others search for more amusing ways of painting - by blobs and *pointillés*. Some stick paper onto the work before it has dried and then when they tear it off the

next day find chance, and sometimes beautiful, patches, which they then try to use.[155]

In the second part of his essay[156] Markov concentrated on the principle of free creativity and focused on the internal processes at work. He likened it to play, where a direct or utilitarian purpose is forgotten and the "I" is expressed more spontaneously: "...we ... emerge no longer as the masters of forces hidden within us, but as their slaves".[157] Art is a manifestation of the self and as such has a character that can be identified either as individual or national. Questions of refinement and crudity lost their significance because the quality of the work of art was determined by the sincerity with which it was made. The conditioning of fashion, for example, created a false conception of beauty based on business. Moreover, any expression of the pure self, however sincere in intention, was complicated by certain external influences. Such factors were inevitably corrupting. Markov listed them as follows:

1. The outer function of the hands and the body in general which transmit the rhythm of the soul at the moment of creation.
2. The state of the will.
3. The wealth of imagination, memory and reflexibility.
4. Associations
5. Experience of life creeping into the process of creation, subordinating it to its canons, laws, tastes, and habits, and manipulating it with a hand which finds it very pleasant to repeat stereotyped methods; reducing it to the level of handicraft which has built itself such a warm and safe nest in our time.
6. The state of the psyche during creation; the interchange of emotions, joy, hope, suffering, failure etc.
7. The struggle with the material.
8. The appearance of "empathy", the desire to create style, symbol, allegory and illusion.
9. The appearance of criteria and thought etc.[158]

Only in rare moments of pure inspiration, which may be like religious ecstasy, is the influence of the above factors diminished and the self, be it conscious or subconscious, free to be intuitively expressed. Free creativity seeks, through persistent inner work, to acknowledge the undesirable elements even if it is powerless to be rid of them.

The form of art created by the principle of free creativity was often a synthesis of both self-analysis and sensual perceptions. In this duality the creators' experience of both the inner and outer world were expressed. Art forms become ""the swans of other worlds" as the Chinese sing"[159], as artists, breaking down the barriers between themselves and external reality, penetrate the outer appearances of objects to reveal their inner "rhythm". The forms were most effective when they represented "the apogee in economy of resources and the least outlay of technical means"[160] but essentially they should be free, that is crude or refined, absurd or sensible; and not pinned to nature or doctrine. This was Markov's way of the Tao.

By the beginning of 1912 many young Russian artists had rejected academic rules of painting, but very few had sought to explain that rejection. The Golden Fleece had contained articles on the modern French artists, especially Gauguin, Matisse and Denis; Persian painting[161]; Vasilii Milioti's essays on Pavel Kuznetsov and Vrubel[162]; as well as Toporkov's paper on Henri Bergson's Creative Evolution[163] and Imgardt's call for "new colours" and "musical tones" in painting[164], all of which would have provided direction for Markov's definition of the principles

of modern art. In "The Russian Secession" he had paid tribute to the Golden Fleece exhibitions and if these were more pronounced in their modernism than Ryabushinskii's journal, at least the articles mentioned above and several others, would have found his sympathy.

Throughout 1907 The Golden Fleece had published articles discussing the question of individualism and nationalism in art - questions that Markov sought to address through his examination of the creative principles of different peoples. In "The Principles of the New Art" there is no conclusion to the problem of how a work of art can at once be an expression of its creator's self and of national characteristics, but Markov hinted that the two may be united by common external factors affecting the purity of "self"-expression.[165]

Markov also concerned himself with a kind of spiritual primitivism - a cause increasingly advocated in The Golden Fleece during its final two years of publication[166]. In Toporkov's later article, "On Creative and Contemplative Aestheticism"[167], the author attempted to define the new aims of artists such as Goncharova, Larionov and Sar'yan. He concluded that with their primitivism they sought a synthesis of objective and subjective reality in order "to find that magic point where the art of the "creator" becomes the art of the "spectator"."[168] Such empathy was clearly implicit in Markov's words when he stressed the expression of the essence of objects external to the artist through internal investigation. As such he was one of the first to formulate the creative processes involved in Russian Neo-Primitivism.

Markov was undoubtedly also aware of Bely's aesthetic ideas.

Although opposed to the impractability of Bely's idea of the artist having to perfect himself in order to create an art of universal appeal, the two theoreticians had several principles in common. The notion that art was to be for the whole of mankind, advanced by Bely at his lecture "Art of the Future" (15 January 1908)[169], coincided with Markov's belief that art was to express the fundamentals of worldly existence. Bely believed that the artist himself was his artistic form and that from his perfection came national perfection. Without being such an idealist Markov's words echo this call for inner stringency. Both recognised man's striving for other worlds. Bely's theosophical stance made the art of the future the religion of mankind but in this he saw, as did Markov in his "religion of beauty", that the Divine would be glimpsed. Finally, Bely argued that the art of the future must "unite the world of nature and the world of cognition in one complete creative symbol"[170], a synthesis in keeping with Markov's aesthetics.

Prior to Markov's publications, Kul'bin was really the only other apologist for the Russian avant-garde. Burlyuk had made some propagandistic proclamations for the new art at exhibitions since 1908, but his arguments lacked depth and cohesion.[171] Likewise, Izdebskii, a member of the Neue Künstlervereinigung, had lectured and written brief appraisals of the new movement to accompany his salons. In accordance with Markov, he did not totally dismiss classical principles, but found them inappropriate to modern painting:

> Greece did not know colour... Colour denies form its geometric concreteness and makes form indistinct... Since the

> age of the Renaissance, painting has fastened onto problems alien to it - the grasp of the plastic world rather than that of colour.[172]

While Markov did not deny painting the right to deal with plastic problems (on the contrary, he saw it very much as a plastic art), he certainly agreed with Izdebskii's tenet that its attention should be focused on the formal problem of colour and that this should be free from relation to naturalistic imitation.

But since "The Russian Secession" Markov had focused not on the problems of painting, but on a much more generalised study of artistic principles. In "The Principles of the New Art", he swept away distinctions between the arts and in his discussion had turned from Chinese poetry to Michelangelo's Doni Tondo. Although attracted to the problems facing the modern painter, Markov now concentrated on principles common to all the arts - the expression of beauty.

Izdebskii had an apocalyptic vision of art. Mankind passing through "the purgatory of the modern capitalist monster-city"[173] would come to a new life and new revelations. At the same time this would be a return to "Pan, to a joyous rebirth"[174]. Using the term "impressionism" in the sense employed by Kul'bin and Burlyuk, Izdebskii felt that it demanded not only a "painterly mood" but also to "express the depths of the self, to give painting the feeling and grasp of the wondrous world of colour and line."[175] It was to achieve this through a profound synthesis of intuitivism and symbolism - almost exactly what Markov demanded with his examination of the self in art. For Markov intuitive solutions, despite their spontaneity and indefinable origins, were inevitably

shaped by circumstantial factors. This marked the individuality of works of art of a single culture.

Kul'bin's intuitive impressionism was similar to Izdebskii's, but his argument differed from Markov's through its use of science. Although Markov did not reject science *per se*, he regarded it as strictly "constructive" and thereby limited in its application and possible solutions. The scientific basis he saw in European art since Hellenic times was symptomatic of Europe's "rigid doctrines, its orthodox realism" which "corrodes national art, evens it out and paralyzes its development"[176]. Further, Markov differentiated his purpose from that of the psychologist: "It is not my task to analyse our "I" in all its diversity... that is the province of psychology."[177] Kul'bin, on the other hand, aware of recent developments in science, expanded its scope, felt free to dabble in psychology and created a theory of art using scientific principles.

Despite such differences, the two theorists had much in common. Indeed, there was much that was non-constructive in Kul'bin's use of science. The "rhythm" that Markov sought beyond the world of appearances and that he considered absent "in objects constructed by the mind on principles of pure proportion and practical truth"[178], was identical with Kul'bin's "energy... to which physics has recently reduced everything".[179] Kul'bin accepted that art went beyond the world of visual reality but that in his free expression of inner worlds the artist was reflecting, or at least hinting at, scientific laws of nature. The expression of the "I", whether in harmony or dissonant with external reality, was an expression of the nature of things at any one time, for the

freedom of the creator was itself part of a natural order. In other words, art, as Markov suggested, was always conditioned.

That both Markov and Kul'bin ultimately advocated the unlimited expression of the essence of reality, is indicative of their symbolist heritage. Both artists accepted that the forms of art (unconsciously or consciously) were representative of a divine beauty, and were the result of both sensual perception and inner searching. Markov claimed: "Forms attained by the application of the principle of free creativity are sometimes a synthesis of complex analyses and sensations; they are the only forms capable of expressing and embodying the creator's intentions *vis-à-vis* nature and the inner world of his "I"."[180] In fact, Markov appears to be the greater idealist of the two, for he puts art above nature while accepting man's inability to express pure truth because of interference factors. Kul'bin, on the contrary, does not differentiate between man and nature - the fact that man can create art, "the flowers of culture"[181], be free in colour and form, express the psyche, sound, movement etc. free from academic rules, does not mean he is free from scientific law. Indeed, art is to be a reflection of an empathy with the variety in nature. Essentially both sought the divine in art but Kul'bin saw the divine in nature while Markov saw it, like Worringer, beyond nature.

Kul'bin and Markov applied their principles to art generally, seeking to establish a way for the intuition, through psychological training, in all fields of art. Both were essentially practical in their approach, indicating the hinderances to pure expression and using plentiful examples to illustrate their theory (both discussed

folk art, folk toys, children's games and music). Both saw value in the crude, the absurd and the non-sequential.

Markov's "The Principles of the New Art" developed the ideas he had first announced in "The Russian Secession", where he had concentrated on the colour, form and line of modern Russian painting, hinting by his examples (Buddhist art, Greek architecture etc.), that his interest went beyond the principles of painting. His argument had changed little: in 1910 he had sought non-mimetic colour, free from "materially-related phenomena and ideas", blamed Greece for forcing out the mystical, demanded a painterly art, advocated the use of art of the past and the primitive as models for modern creative work and denied truth to visual reality. By 1912 there was a shift towards determining the factors involved in creating new art, and Markov's argument was less rhetorical. Yet his conception of the world of nature and the right of the artist to distort that world remained identical.

Given that Markov's "The Principles of the New Art" was essentially a development of his argument in "The Russian Secession", the influence of Kandinsky, who had published little in Russia prior to 1910 (really only his "Letters from Munich" in Apollo, end 1909 to early 1910) seems unlikely.[182] Only subsequently had Kandinsky published "Content and Form" in the second Izdebskii Salon catalogue (early 1911) and "On the Spiritual in Art" had been read (late December 1911). Yet the artists, did address similar problems and arrived at similar solutions.

In "Content and Form"[183] Kandinsky, more than either Markov or Kul'bin, established a "constructive" approach from "non-

constructive" principles. Thus he regarded form as determined by content. Content, however, was not that of external reality, but inner feeling: "Form is the material expression of abstract content."[184] Kandinsky's "principle of inner necessity"[185] was close to Markov's "principle of free creativity" and enjoyed a similar pragmatism. Both recognised that the artist himself could be the only true critic of his work and that the correspondence of form to inner content (in Markov's terms, the manifestation of "I") was bound to be flawed. Markov went further in his demands to ignore the spectator's wishes, while couching his principle in terms reminiscent of Kandinsky: "... let me create according to my own inner impulses and criteria".[186]

Kandinsky, concentrating on colour and line, established the following rules: "Painting is the combination of coloured tones determined by inner necessity... Drawing is the combination of linear planes determined by inner necessity."[187] The whole of Markov's "The Principles of the New Art" elaborated on this theme without once contradicting it. Similarly, the more restricted discussion of "The Russian Secession" had focused on colour and line as the primary elements of painting, and called for them to be "the expression of temperament"[188] free from any subjection to material phenomena. Kandinsky echoed this in "On the Spiritual in Art": "Feeling is everything, especially at the beginning... true results can never be attained through cerebral activity or through deductive calculation."[189]

The parallels between all these artists points to the development of a new aesthetic in Russia. Kul'bin had been partly

responsible for its inception in 1908; first with his Modern Trends exhibition and then with his lectures and articles. The new aesthetic may best be described as 'post-symbolist', since the symbolist heritage is clearly felt, although developed further. Many tenets of Markov's theory are applicable to Neo-Primitivism, although his argument allows a broader interpretation of creative principles. Certainly, the application of his theory to all art was in keeping with the Neo-Primitivists' determination to find common factors in primitive and ancient art of all kinds. As an elucidation of these plastic principles Markov's work has clear limitations. But the article was not intended as an isolated essay and its publication gave some foundation to the methods and techniques of the very latest Russian art. In this respect, Markov gave the move to abstraction then taking place its meaning.

FOOTNOTES

1. [anon.] "Vystavka kartin obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Soyuz molodezhi'", Ogonek No. 4, 21 January 1912, unpaginated.

2. For example, Zorkii "Zhivopis' Soyuza molodezhi", Vechernee vremya No. 42, 14 January 1912, p. 3; V. Ya [Yanchevetskii] "Khudozhestvennaya khronika", Rossiya No. 1894, 17 January 1912 p. 5; O. Bazankur "Po vystavkam", Sankt-Peterburgskiya vedomosti No. 20, 25 January 1912, p. 2; "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Golos sovremennika (St. Petersburg), No. 6, 22 January 1912, p. 3.

3. A. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Rech' No. 23, 24 January 1912, p. 3.

4. N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Birzhevye vedomosti No. 12719, 4 January 1912, p. 6.

5. [anon.] "Vystavki - 'Oslinago kvosta' i 'obshchestva peterburgskikh khudozhnikov'", Vechernee vremya No. 25, 24 December 1911, p. 3.

6. Vechernee vremya No. 26, 27 December 1911, p. 5.

7. Cited in N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda (Stockholm), 1976, p. 33. Letter in Khardzhiev's possession.

8. Ibid. p. 34.

9. "Stat'i o zhivopisi", TsGALI Fond 792 ed. khr. 1, l. 52. Cited in L. D'yakonitsyn, Ideinye protivorechiya v estetike russkoi zhivopisi kontsa XIX-nachala XX vv. (Perm), 1966, p. 207.

10. Cited in Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p. 35. Letter in Khardzhiev's possession.

11. "3-ya vystavka kartin obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Soyuza molodezhi'", Rech' No. 354, 25 December 1911, p. 1.

12. Although the exhibition was eventually called the Union of Youth's, letters survive from mid-December 1911 from which it becomes clear that the two groups had been engaged in negotiations for some time prior to the opening. At first the agreement seems to have been that the Union of Youth would participate in the Donkey's Tail Petersburg exhibition, though distinguished by a separate title (see Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 34, concerning Shkol'nik's letter to Zheverzheev of 14 December, in which he mentions his correspondence with Larionov on the matter and the possibility of agreement with the latter's conditions). Any arrangements made seem to have been thwarted by the boycott of Donkey's Tail members - hence the last minute confusion and change of the title of the exhibition.

13. See Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", where he notes that the Petersburg Society of Artists, whose exhibition opened in the same building on 27 December 1911, paid two thousand roubles for six weeks, and the Union of Youth paid a "fleecing" five hundred roubles for a "tiny little apartment". The size of the apartment may have acted to limit the Union of Youth exhibits to 133 works.

14. Vestnik Vserossiiskogo s'ezda khudozhnikov (St. Petersburg) No. 12, 4 January 1912, p. 27.

15. See Trudy Vserossiiskago s'ezda khudozhnikov (Petrograd) Vol. 1, 1914, p. XII.

16. Ibid.

17. Concerning the participants see, for example, Vestnik Vseross-iiskogo s'ezda khudozhnikov No. 2-3, July-August 1911, pp. 43ff.

18. Concerning Kul'bin's and Kandinsky's lectures see Trudy, pp. 35-40 and pp. 47-76.

19. Concerning Drozdov, see Chapter Two, Footnote 14. He had graduated from the piano class of N. A. Dubasov at the Petersburg Conservatory in 1909, as well as from the Law Faculty of Petersburg University in 1910. From 1911, he made frequent concert appearances and tours, and until 1916 was director of the Ekaterinodar Music School. Together with Kul'bin he organised the Spring Festival of the Arts in Ekaterinodar in April 1912. Drozdov's concern with the synthesis of painting and music was closely allied to Kul'bin's theories. See A. N. Drozdov "Zhivopis' i muzyka", Trudy, Vol. I, pp. 27-34 and N. I. Kul'bin "Novyya techeniya v iskusstve", Trudy, Vol. I, p. 40.

20. Nikolai Ivanovich Verkhoturov (1863-1943), Petersburg artist. See his "Iskusstvo i tvorchestvo v zhizni pervobytnago cheloveka i nashego vremeni", Trudy, Vol. I, p. 76.

21. See S. P. Bobrov, "Osnovy novoi russkoi zhivopisi" Trudy, Vol. I, pp. 42-47. Sergei Pavlovich Bobrov (1889-1971) later published a Futurist book of poetry with Goncharova's illustrations, Vertogradari nad Lozami (Moscow, 1913). The lecture took place on 31 December 1911, was repeated on 2 January 1912 in the third section of the Congress (Art and its Techniques), and on 7 January 1912 in the Troitskii Theatre. This latter occasion was almost certainly organised by the Union of Youth. (See below concerning Spandikov's essay on Bobrov's report).

22. S. P. Bobrov, "Osnovy novoi russkoi zhivopisi" Trudy, p. 42.

23. Ibid. p. 42.

24. Ibid. p. 42. Such a view was important to the development of Larionov's Rayism. Also, at the Donkey's Tail exhibition in March,

Goncharova exhibited works marked "direct perception". "Oracularness" is translated from "vizionerstvo" which has no precise English equivalent.

25. Ibid. p. 42.

26. Ibid. p. 43.

27. Ibid. p. 43.

28. Ibid. p. 43.

29. Ibid. p. 42.

30. Ibid. p. 43.

31. Ibid. p. 43.

32. See Chapter Three.

33. Ibid. p. 43.

34. J. Bowlt, ed. and trans. B. Livshits The One and a Half Eyed Archer. Newtonville, Massachusetts, 1977, p. 78. Livshits also recalled that Nikolai Burlyuk read out "from a scrap of paper... a declaration of technical terminology that he and Vladimir [Burlyuk] had worked out... but alas nobody paid attention." (ibid.).

35. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 2.

36. E. Spandikov "Po povodu referata S. Bobrova "Russkii purizm" Soyuz molodezhi (St. Petersburg) No. 1, April 1912, pp. 21-22.

37. Elizaveta Yurievna Kuz'mina-Karavaeva (1891-1945), was a symbolist poet and acquaintance of Blok. She contributed one work with a theme taken from Russian folklore, The Dragon Gorynych. "Gorynych" was a winged dragon with a serpent's body, that appeared in mythology as an incarnation of evil and violence. Clearly, Kuz'mina-Karavaeva's painting belonged to the trend of 'idealistic' symbolism which was evident in her writing; in 1912 the Acmeist publishing house "The Guild of Poets" published an anthology of her poems, Fragments of Scythian Pottery [Skifskie cherepki]. After the revolution she emigrated to France and became a nun.

38. The catalogue misprints the date of the production as January 1912.

39. Nothing is known of M. Yasenskii, who contributed similar works to the Union of Youth's section of Donkey's Tail exhibition.

40. O. Bazankur, "Po vystavkam". No biographical details of this artist are known.

41. Vera Dmitrievna Novodvorskaya (1884-1942), a friend of Petrov-Vodkin, exhibited at the New Society of Artists in 1909 and 1917 and at Izdebskii's Salon 1909-10 (her works at the latter included Christmas Tale, The Stroll, Before Departure and The Seduction of Callisto). She was married to the architect A.V. Kholopov. She exhibited the same works at the Donkey's Tail show. These two exhibitions were her only appearances with the Union of Youth.

42. Yu. B. "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuz molodezhi" Ranee utro (Moscow) No.60, 13 March 1912, p.5. Although the Barbey D'Aurevilly story is not identified, the French author usually wrote tales of terror, in which morbid passions are acted out in bizarre crimes. He combined realistic description of daily life in Normandy with an imaginative vision of the power of evil, and this combination would have undoubtedly provided attractive motifs for the Russian symbolist painters. His Les Diaboliques (Possessed Women, 1874), a collection of six short stories, was translated into Russian as D'yavol'skie liki (St. Petersburg, 1908 and Moscow 1913), suggesting that Novodvorskaya's work may well have taken its motif from this.

43. Nothing is known about either of these artists, neither of whom had exhibited before. P.D. Potipaka contributed to all the subsequent Union of Youth exhibitions, but then disappeared from the art scene. He also exhibited at the "Permanent Exhibition of Modern Art", Dobychina Bureau, Petersburg, 1913. Breshko-Breshkovskii suggested ("Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi") that his name could be Greek or Moldavian.

44. B. Shuiskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" Protiv techeniya No.20, 28 Jan.1912, pp.2-3.

45. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

46. S. Mamontov, "Oslinyi Khvost" Russkoe slovo (Moscow) No.60, 13 March 1912, p.6.

47. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi". As there is no catalogue entry George the Victor, it may be assumed to be Horseman (cat.51).

48. Mamontov "Oslinyi Khvost"; Yu.B. "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuz molodezhi"; Filograf "Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy No.60, 13 March 1912 p.5.

49. B. Shuiskii, "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuz molodezhi" Stolichnaya molva (Moscow) No.233, 12 March 1912, p.4.

50. Matisse's exhibition ran from 14 February to 5 March 1910.

51. [anon.] "Vystavka kartin Soyuza molodezhi", Ogonek.

52. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

53. Zorkii, "Zhivopis' Soyuza molodezhi".

54. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

55. Shuiskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

56. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

57. Filograf, "Oslinyi khvost".

58. See, for example, the discussion of Malevich's contributions to the third Union of Youth exhibition, Chapter Four.

59. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

60. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

61. Bazaar, Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zh-10355, may have been either Corner of a Bazaar (cat. 89) or Vegetable Stall (cat. 92).

62. T. Glebova, "Vospominaniya o brate" Neva (Leningrad), No. 10, 1986, p. 151. "101. Heads (2nd)" is pencilled in the group's copy of the catalogue (Russian Museum Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 11).

63. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

64. E. Kovtun, "Iz istorii russkogo avangarda (P. N. Filonov)" Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela pushkinskogo doma na 1977 goda (Leningrad) 1979, p. 217.

65. See "Tsenzura i Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy No. 59, 11 March 1912, p. 5

66. See Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

67. Ibid.

68. Donkey's Tail members also failed to participate in the Knave of Diamonds exhibition that opened on 25 January 1912.

69. See N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, "Vystavka 'Soyuza molodezhi'", Birzhevye vedomosti, No. 12719, 4 January 1912, p. 6, which provides a rare contemporary view of the founding of the Knave of Diamonds.

70. Dates given in Eli Eganbyuri [Ilya Zdanevich] Goncharova, Larionov (Moscow, 1913) cannot be taken as wholly reliable. Goncharova's repetition of theme and title can be confusing. Reapers (cat. 112) may have been the painting of the same title shown at the World of Art exhibition in Moscow the previous November; similarly Religious Triptych (cat. 106) had probably been shown at the World of Art in Moscow in February 1911; the still-lifes may also have been exhibited earlier. Though Eganbyuri reports paintings with the titles Womenfolk with Rakes and The Pond

being created as early as 1907 and repeated within two years, those displayed seem to have been shown for the first time.

71. Shuiskii, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

72. See, for example, C. Gray The Russian Experiment in Art 1863-1922, p. 128. Eganbyuri gives it as 1908 (Goncharova, Larionov). The Tretyakov Gallery also possesses a work called Fishing, said to be from 1908 (See Gosudarstvennaya Tret'yakovskaya Galareya. Katalog zhivopisi XVIII-nachala XX veka (Moscow, 1984), p. 129.

73. Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-1593. Although two variants are extant, Breshko-Breshkovskii's description ("Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi") identifies the Russian Museum work. The other work, reproduced in M. Chamot Goncharova: Stage Designs and Paintings (London), 1979, p. 31, was almost certainly painted later.

74. Breshko-Breshkovskii "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

75. Head of a Sailor may have been Study of a Head (cat. 121). It is worth noting that Larionov also contributed Head of a Soldier (cat. 118).

76. See, for example, Zorkii, "Zhivopis' 'Soyuza molodezhi'".

77. Bazankur, "Po vystavkam". For example, Autumn (cat. 120) and landscape (cat. 122). It should be noted that Larionov had been on military service from the winter of 1910 until the summer of 1911 - a fact that, while giving him subject matter for formal experiments, may have stunted the 1911 development of his art.

78. Other Donkey's Tail artists included Fon-Vizin who displayed three sketches, "in which it is possible to make out that there are depicted a lady with umbrella, a girl with a hoop, lilac and orange ground and tree trunks of the same colour, although the "outlines" have disappeared somewhere." (Bazankur "Po vystavkam") The foggy effect described was not new to Fon-Vizin who had been painting female figures in hazy surroundings since the mid-1900's. The novelty here seems to be his brightened colour. Both Shevchenko, who contributed five "greyish" (Rostislavov "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi") works including Baths and Bathers, and Morgunov (four paintings including Meat Stall) lacked the more severe abstractions of Larionov and Goncharova. Critics of this exhibition and the Donkey's Tail, noted a depth, pleasantness of colour tones and attention to natural forms especially in Morgunov's landscapes and Shevchenko's studies (see, for example, [anon.] "Vystavka kartin Soyuza molodezhi" Ogonek; Filograf "Oslinyi khvost").

Bobrov contributed one work entitled Cyclops (cat. 113, Plate 5.1). The clumsy, massive naked figure of Polyphemus sits by the entrance of the dwarfed cave in which the tiny stick figure of Odysseus stands. Nearby graze three placid sheep. The Homeric subject gives these figures a symbolist function. Breshko-Breshkovskii found that the cave in Bobrov's work "looks like a carpeted tent" and, more significantly, identified an indigenous

folk source for the form of the Cyclops: "... a clay whistle from a Little Russian [i.e. Ukrainian] fair." ("Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi").

79. [anon.] "Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy No. 55, 7 March 1912, p. 4.

80. The Fishmonger has been fully and convincingly analysed in J. Milner, Vladimir Tatlin and the Russian Avant-Garde, (London), 1984, pp. 20-26.

81. Ibid. p. 26.

82. Ibid.

83. According to the catalogue these sketches were already owned by Zheverzheev. Concerning the production and Tatlin's work, see F. I. Syrkina, "Tatlin's Theatre" in L. A. Zhadova ed. Tatlin, (London), 1988, pp. 155-156, and Ibid. p. 181.

84. "Argentinskaya Pol'ka" Ogonek No. 46, 12 November 1911, unpaginated. This was first discovered by A. Strigalev ""Krest'yanskoe", "Gorodskoe" i "Vselenskoe" u Malevicha" Tvorchestvo (Moscow) No. 4, April 1989. The words "Argentinian Polka" are missing in Plate 5. 20.

85. Yu. B. "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuz molodezhi".

86. See Golos moskvy No. 82, 8 April 1912, p. 4. Another important patron is cited as "Korotkov".

87. Russian Museum, Leningrad Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 2.

88. Golos moskvy No. 24, 29 January 1912, p. 5.

89. See "Bubnovyi Valet" Golos moskvy No. 35, 12 February 1912, p. 4. It should be noted that the works expected from Derain and Delaunay were still absent.

90. [anon.] "Soyuz molodezhi" Golos moskvy, No. 56, 8 March 1912, p. 5. This exhibition opened the following year.

91. See, for example, Shuiskii, "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuz molodezhi"; Yu. B. "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuz molodezhi".

92. See, for example, Yu. B. "Oslinyi khvost i Soyuza molodezhi".

93. A. K. "Oslinyi khvost" Utro rossii No. 60, 13 March, p. 5.

94. Yu. B. "Oslinyi khvost". Town was described as "Cubist" by Parkin [Ilya Zdanevich], Oslinyi khvost i Mishen, p. 66.

95. A. K. "Oslinyi khvost". Little is known about the Moscow painter Nikolai Efimovich Rogovin.

96. [anon.] "Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy 7 March 1912.

97. Ibid.

98. Filograf "Oslinyi khvost". However, Bart appears to have abandoned chiaroscuro in some works, contributing: "a series of compositions representing light and shade in which everything is illuminated by light from unknowable sources." ([anon.] "Oslinyi khvost" 7 March 1912).

Other exhibitors included Le-Dantyu, whose eight works are unknown (for information about his activity at this time, and his trip to Tbilisi at the end of March 1912, see A. Strigalev, "Kem, kogda i kak byla otkryta zhivopis' N.A. Pirosmanashvili", Panorama iskusstv 12, (Moscow) 1989 pp.298-312).

Morgunov also exhibited (see previous section), as did Shevchenko, who showed twenty works in "oppressive grey tones" (Yu.B. "Oslinyi khvost"). Also present was Illiarion Aleksandrovich Skuie (1888-c.1916), a student at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, whose two portraits were recommended for "any serious exhibition" (Mamontov "Oslinyi khvost"); and who was described as: "The best portraitist of the exhibition, Skuie, is positively charming. In his originally conceived Family Portrait of the Barber Georgii Chulkov there are three heads above the little glass screen in the barber's window where wigs are displayed. He has a strictness, reminiscent of Egyptian frescoes, in the line and colour of his Female Portrait." (Yu.B. "Oslinyi khvost").

99. C. Douglas, Swans of other Worlds (Ann Arbor) 1980, p.23.

100. [anon.] "Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy.

101. See, for example, Gray, The Russian Experiment, p.150.

102. S. Glagol' [Sergei Goloushev] "Kartinnyya vystavki", Stolichnaya molva (Moscow), No.284, 2 January 1913, p.3.

103. Shchukin began to buy Picasso's work around 1908, one of his most significant proto-Cubist purchases being The Three Women (1908), now in The Hermitage, Leningrad.

104. Chamot has suggested a religious symbolism for this painting, claiming that it depicts the harvesting scene of Revelation, Chapter 14 verses 14-20 (See M. Chamot, Goncharova: Stage Designs and Paintings (London) 1979, p.42).

105. The eight religious compositions by Goncharova were censored the day before the exhibition opened. Two other works were censored - a religious composition by Rogovin and Filonov's Study of a Female Model, see "Tsenzura i Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy No.59, 11 March 1912, p.5. Concerning the showing of Goncharova's four Evangelists, which were not in the catalogue, see Parkin "Oslinyi khvost i mishen" p.58 and [anon.] "Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy 7 March 1912 (a review written before the censorship).

106. Filograf noted that Larionov "... painted in cold, dull tones" ("Oslinyi khvost").

107. There were also at least two works from a trip to Turkey that had never taken place and various studies.

108. J. Bowlt, Russian Art 1875-1975: A Collection of Essays (New York) 1976, p. 105.

109. [anon.] "Oslinyi khvost" Golos moskvy. Larionov's "photographic studies" appear to contrast with Malevich's 'static' use of the photograph in Argentinian Polka, although both artists were actually concerned with expressing the painterly nature of their art. See below, concerning the Union of Youth's translations of texts from the catalogue of the Paris Exhibition of Italian Futurists.

110. Only the cover to The Union of Youth No. 2, consisted of a reproduction of a Persian miniature (Plate 5.29) - in this case a kneeling beggar is depicted. The comparative detail of his head and shoulders contrasts with the sparse background in which a sapling is almost invisibly sketched. The works by Union of Youth members are all discussed elsewhere. They comprise of Shkol'nik's Winter, Filonov's Adoration of the Magi, Spandikov's Self-Portrait, Shleifer's Shepherd Boy, Potipaka's Earth and Rozanova's Restaurant.

111. Soyuz molodezhi (St. Petersburg), No. 2, p. 23.

112. Paolo Buzzi, ("Pis'mo iz Italii. Zhivopis'" ("Khronika"), Apollon No. 9, July-August 1910, pp. 16-18) had paraphrased the "Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto", translated in Soyuz Molodezhi but this, together with Marinetti's twice translated "Manifesto of Futurism", appears to have gone largely unnoticed (concerning the latter see E. Sem-v. "Futurizm (Literaturnyi manifest" Nasha gazeta No. 54, 6 March 1909, p. 4 and Panda "Futuristy" Vecher No. 269, 8 March 1909).

113. Published 11 April 1910 in Poesia, Milan, and subsequently together with "The Exhibitors to the Public" in the Futurists' exhibition catalogues of early 1912.

114. "Obrashchenie k publike" Soyuz molodezhi No. 2, p. 31.

115. Ibid. p. 31.

116. Ibid. p. 33.

117. The translations published in The Union of Youth reappeared with many others and an essay by Markov, in The Chinese Flute [Svirel' kitaya], published by the Union of Youth in 1914.

118. V. Bubnova "Moi vospominaniya o V.I. Matvee" (1960), Academy of Arts, Riga, unpaginated.

119. Ibid. Bubnova is correct: the reproduction, discussed with reference to Markov's article below, was taken from Oskar Münsterberg. Chinesische Kunstgeschichte (Esslingen) 1910 vol. 1, p. 143. Although the sculpture was identified in the Union of Youth as Chinese, it was an early seventh century bronze from the Horiuji temple in Nara, Japan (see Footnote 129).

120. There is a misprint in the numbering of the six reproductions - the fifth and sixth, indicated as Indian and Persian respectively, should be vice versa.

121. D. Varvarova, "Persidkoe iskusstvo", Soyuz molodezhi No. 1, 1912, p. 22. Besides the Abāssi miniature of a horseman, where the graphic qualities and abstract forms of nature are evident, the journal contains a reproduction of a miniature depicting Khusrau, the Sasanian monarch observing the bath of his loved one Shīrīn. This was a favourite scene with the Persian miniaturists from the romantic poem of Nizāmī (see Thomas Arnold, "Rizā Abāssi manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum" Burlington Magazine (London) Vol. XXIXVIII, February 1921, p. 63).

122. "Khronika", Soyuz molodezhi No. 1, p. 24.

123. There appears to have been no pre-Revolutionary translation of Worringer's work into Russian. The idea to translate it at this time shows how closely the Union of Youth were to the Blaue Reiter artists; Marc wrote to Kandinsky in February 1912: "I am just reading Worringer's Abstraction and Empathy. a good mind, whom we need very much." (Cited in K. Lankheit ed. The Blaue Reiter Almanac, London, 1974, p. 30). By this time R. Piper, the publisher of Der Blaue Reiter, had already published two editions of the book (Munich, 1908 and 1911).

124. I. Shkol'nik, "Musei sovremennoi russkoi zhivopisi", Soyuz molodezhi No. 1, p. 18.

125. Ibid. p. 19.

126. Ibid. p. 19.

127. Ibid. p. 20.

128. Ibid. p. 19.

129. Ibid. p. 20.

130. A. Rostislavov, "Vecher khudozhestvenno-artisticheskoi assotsiatsii", Rech' No. 91, 4 April 1912, p. 4. Interestingly Kul'bin described the Futurists' position thus: "for whom everything in art is conventional and that which is important is not how but what. Among their tenets, besides excellent ideas there are absurd ones like the complete denial of the significance of the art of the past." (ibid.) Within a year he was to regard himself as the leader of the Russian Futurists.

131. See Rech' No. 81, 23 March 1912, p. 4.

132. Vladimir Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva", Soyuz molodezhi, No. 1, pp. 5-14 and "Printsipy novogo iskusstva (prod.)", Soyuz molodezhi, No. 2, pp. 5-18.

133. See Soyuz molodezhi No. 1, p. 14.

134. Concerning Faktura (St. Petersburg) 1914, see Chapter Eight.

135. Svirel' kitava (St. Petersburg) 1914. See Chapter Eight.

136. Iskusstvo ostrova Paskhi (St. Petersburg) 1914. See Chapter Eight.

137. Iskusstvo negrov (St. Petersburg) 1919 and "O "printsipe tyazhesti" v afrikanskoi skul'pture" Narody Azii i Afriki No. 2, 1966, pp. 148-157.

138. Concerning the participation of David Burlyuk and Kul'bin, as well as other Russians and the use of lubki, in Der Blaue Reiter, see Lankheit, Der Blaue Reiter Almanac, pp. 15-41. See also E. F. Kovtun, "Pis'ma V. V. Kandinskogo k N. I. Kul'binu" Pamyatniki kulturi. Novye otkrytiya (Leningrad) 1981, pp. 399-410, for information about Kandinsky's contact with Kul'bin at this time.

139. See Shkol'nik's note (Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 75, l. 7): "We wanted to establish a museum, a library, permanent exhibitions and many other things and to this end gave Matvei money and sent him abroad." See Chapter Six.

140. Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1 ed. khr. 42, l. 1. It is a curious coincedence that Matvejs chose the pseudonym Markov ('of Mark') in April 1912 at the same time as Marc published Der Blaue Reiter. It is worth noting that, like Markov, Marc's family also originated from the Baltic provinces, and that he had relations in Moscow (see Kandinsky letter to Kul'bin 19 July 1911, in Kovtun, "Pis'ma V. V. Kandinskogo", p. 404).

141. Bubnova, "Moi vospominaniya", unpaginated.

142. V. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva (prod.)" p. 13.

143. Rostislavov, "Vecher khudozhestvenno-artisticheskoi assotsiatsii".

144. N. Kul'bin, "Garmoniya, dissonans i tesnyya sochetaniya v iskusstve i zhizni" Trudy vserossiiskago s'ezda khudozhnikov Vol. 1, p. 36.

145. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva", p. 7.

146. Ibid. p. 5.

147. Ibid. p. 8.

148. A detail of the three figures of the Holy Family, taken from Michelangelo's Doni Tondo (1503, Uffizi, Florence) was reproduced in The Union of Youth (Soyuz molodezhi, No. 1).

149. Ibid. p. 9.

150. Ibid. p. 9. The sculpture depicts Kannon (Chinese - Kwan-Yin), the female aspect of the Boddhisattva Avalokitesvara. She wears a diadem and armbands and sits, with one leg resting on her knee, on a bench. Münsterberg adds the following: "Bronze, formerly in the Horiuji Temple, Nara, Japan, now in the Imperial Japanese Treasury. Inscription: 'Takaya mo Muraji created this image in memory of his wife 'Amako', probably in 606'". See Footnote 111.

151. Ibid. p. 10.

152. Ibid. p. 13.

153. Ibid. p. 14.

154. Bubnova, "Moi vospominaniya", unpaginated.

155. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva", p. 13.

156. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva (prod.)" Soyuz molodezhi No. 2, 1912, pp. 5-18.

157. Ibid. p. 6.

158. Ibid. pp. 13-14. Here Markov most clearly shows the impracticality of pure abstraction - the virtual impossibility of transcending the material realm, however desirable. Thus mimetic images of some sort are almost inevitable. This suggests that a synthetic, rather than Worringer's antinomic, interpretation of abstraction and empathy. It is interesting to note that Markov employs the word "vchustvovanie" (empathy), and in quotation marks, to describe one of the negative external factors corrupting the pure work of art. This suggests a borrowing from Worringer, especially as the word (a direct translation from 'einfühlung') was not then in common usage in Russia.

159. Ibid. p. 15.

160. Ibid. p. 16.

161. G. T. [Genrikh Tastevenl], "Persidskaya Zhivopis'", Zolotoe runo No. 3-4, 1908, pp. 5-38.

162. V. Milioti, "O Pavle Kuznetsove", Zolotoe runo, No. 6, 1908, p. 75 and "Risunki Vrubelya", Zolotoe runo, No. 5, 1909, pp. 13-14).

163. A. Toporkov, "Tvorchestvo i mysl' - Po povodu knigi A. Bergsona 'Tvorcheskya Evolyutsiya'", Zolotoe runo, No. 5, 1909, pp. 52-62.

164. D. Imgardt, "Zhivopis' i revolyutsiya", Zolotoe runo, No. 5, 1906, pp. 56-9.

165. Markov continued this discussion in Faktura (See Chapter Eight).

166. i.e. 1908 and 1909. See, for example, various issues containing Gorodetskii's paganised poetry, Goncharova's motifs taken from lubki, as well as Toporkov's support for the artists at the final Golden Fleece salon ("O tvorcheskom i sozertsatel'nom estetizme" No. 11-12, 1909 pp. 69-74).

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid. p. 73.

169. See [anon.] "Iskusstvo budushchago", Rus' No. 16, 17 January 1908, p. 3.

170. Ibid.

171. In November 1908, Burlyuk's article "Voice of an Impressionist - in Defence of Painting" appeared in the Link exhibition catalogue, Kiev (see Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, pp. 8-11); at the Wreath exhibitions he orally supported his methods, and at the Knave of Diamonds debates of 12 and 25 February 1912 he spoke, apparently unconvincingly and with little substance, on "The Evolution of the Understanding of Beauty in Painting (Cubism)".

172. A.I., "Sovremennoe iskusstvo i gorod" (Lektsiya skul'ptora V. Izdebskago)" Kievskaya mysl' 23 February 1910, No. 54, p. 5).

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid.

176. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva", p. 8.

177. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva (prod.)" p. 13.

178. Ibid. p. 17.

179. Kul'bin, "Garmoniya, dissonans", op. cit. p. 35.

180. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva (prod.)" p. 15.

181. Kul'bin, "Treugol'nik", Salon 2, (Odessa) 1911, p. 19.

182. However, Kandinsky's "Letters" should not be dismissed, as they share much common ground with Markov, e.g. in the appreciation of Eastern art values (not least Persian miniatures - see "Khronika", Apollon, No. 11, October-November 1910), opposition to academic art, the struggle of the modern artist to heed his inner experiences and abandon the interference factors of nature. Concerning Kandinsky's early publications in Russia, including his "Letters from Munich", see K.C. Lindsay and P. Vergo (ed.), Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art, Vol. 1, (London) 1982, pp. 33-104. Kandinsky published five "Letters" in Apollon, the new Symbolist monthly edited by Makovskii, between October 1909 and October 1910.

183. For translation see Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, pp. 17-23.

184. Ibid. p. 20.

185. Ibid. pp. 20-23.

186. Markov "Printsipii novago iskusstva (prod.)" p. 18.

187. Kandinsky, "Content and Form", cited in Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, p. 22.

188. M. [V. Matvejs] "Russkii Setsession", Rizhskiya mysl', 12 August 1910, No. 909, p. 3.

189. See J. Bowlt and R. Washton-Long (ed.), The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art: A Study of On the Spiritual in Art. (Newtonville, Mass.) 1980, p. 81.

CHAPTER SIX: THE 1912-1913 SEASON I

THE UNION OF YOUTH DEBATE 20 NOVEMBER 1912 AND THE SIXTH UNION OF YOUTH EXHIBITION

"What is Cubism?" The Union of Youth Debate 20 November 1912

After the June publication of The Union of Youth (No. 2), the group began its summer recess and Markov set off for Europe to buy pictures and books for the proposed museum of modern art and library. On 26 July 1912 he wrote to Zheverzheev from Paris, outlining his activities and aims:

> Could you please inform me whether premises for our museum are available?.. I really don't want to dupe such people as Walden and Kandinsky by taking pictures when no museum exists... Moreover they could arrive [in Petersburg] at any time... I am buying some things for the museum, but have found more of the type of things that are suitable for the journal. I wander around endless amounts of bookshops... I badly need a camera... I must write about the principles of the new art and there is material here. What wonderful African and Polynesian sculpture it's possible to buy here... it's lucky you gave me so little money otherwise I wouldn't have been able to stop myself. Even so my soul trembles at the thought. I can only buy rubbish - works by the Futurists and Picasso - all that is rubbish compared with the sculptures. But I can't not buy Picasso - they'd kill me in Petersburg where they're asking for the new art. So I've reserved eight Picassos and they cost four francs each...[1]

This letter provides the clearest evidence of where the Union of Youth's interests lay and the contacts they sought in 1912 i.e. with the promoters of German Expressionism, Picasso's art and primitive sculpture. The very fact that Markov was sent to Europe indicates that, unlike Larionov's Neo-Primitivist groups, the Union of Youth actively sought a liaison with the West, and considered themselves part of the modern European movement, with its blend of symbolism, primitivism, Cubism and Futurism. Indeed, simultaneously with this letter, Markov wrote to Kandinsky and Marc

with requests to contribute works to the Union of Youth, and asking for information about a new book on Cubism that he was having trouble finding.[2]

When Union of Youth members were reunited in the autumn of 1912 there began two final seasons of intense activity. The first public event to be organised was a lecture and debate evening on 20 November. The speakers were David Burlyuk and Vladimir Mayakovsky. Two weeks later, the sixth, and penultimate, Union of Youth exhibition opened. It was the first in Russia to be called (by the press) "Cubist".[3]

In June, as Markov set off for Europe, Burlyuk returned from two months in France and Germany. During his trip he had met Kandinsky in Munich and almost certainly seen the Italian Futurists' Exhibition in Berlin in April.[4] He returned much inspired and energetically went about putting his ideas and plans into action.[5] By October, Burlyuk had proposed the idea of a debate to the Union of Youth. On 27 October Shkol'nik wrote the following to Zheverzheev:

> Yesterday I received a letter from D.D. Burlyuk with the suggestion that our society organise a lecture or debate in Petersburg. He offers 40-50 magic lantern slides that are already made and to talk about Futurists, French and Russian, old and new. He offers to do all this free of charge.[6]

The fact that the lecture took place on 20 November 1912 indicates the swiftness of the Union of Youth's reaction and its readiness to accommodate Burlyuk. Within days he wrote again to Shkol'nik with a rough outline of his programme.[7] He headed it "In Defence of Art", mentioned that there would be more than sixty slides of nineteenth and twentieth century paintings and entitled his lecture

"What is Cubism? (the Question of a Dilletante)". He recommended inviting the following as opponents: V.V. Mayakovsky (as well as suggesting him as a second speaker), N.I. Kul'bin, N.D. Burlyuk and V.Yu. El'sner.[9]

Burlyuk also mentioned that he would be reading the lecture "Evolution of the Concept of Beauty in Painting" ("without the polemical element"?), that he had previously read at the Knave of Diamonds 24 February debate, at an evening organised by the Arts Association. Whether this was an attempt to stimulate a sense of rivalry between the Union of Youth and Arts Association is questionable. In the event the Union of Youth pre-empted the Association, whose evening was arranged for 10 December. Furthermore, the Association's first exhibition opened in Petersburg on 11 November with rather more conservative works by Burlyuk and Mayakovsky than those the former reserved for the Union of Youth's show.[10] As if hinting that he should like to create a stir in Petersburg only at the Union of Youth's evening, Burlyuk wrote: "With you I shall try to deliver my speech to settle old scores with the Peterburgers. I hope that I'll speak well. I have many articles already written but I don't like "to read" them."[11]

In fact, it was not the Union of Youth who first gave Burlyuk (even though they paid his rail fares), and Mayakovsky a platform in Petersburg, but the Stray Dog club. Details of the evening are scant, but it is known to have taken place three days prior to the Union of Youth's event and with the participation not only of Burlyuk and Mayakovsky but also Nikolai Burlyuk. David Burlyuk gave a short speech, apparently restricted to the new poetry, in

which he promoted developments in Moscow as opposed to those in Petersburg. He also read his and Khlebnikov's latest poems. Only Kul'bin supported him. However, Mayakovsky, who seems only to have read his poetry, was appreciated to a greater extent and the Union of Youth displayed its continued conciliatory approach. The following report described the evening:

> From the retorts of both sides i.e. the representatives of Moscow and Petersburg circles of poets, it was apparent that these are two rival camps which are unlikely to be reconciled. Even so, one of the members of the Petersburg Union of Youth announced to the meeting that attempts are now under way to amalgamate the two camps.[12]

Such collaboration may have been begun at Mayakovsky's first meeting with Union of Youth members four days earlier. On 13 November Shkol'nik wrote to Zheverzheev:

> A young poet and artist who has relations with the Knave of Diamonds and is a friend of Burlyuk has arrived from Moscow. He also wishes to make an independent lecture on the 20th (Tuesday) and offers his services free. In order to succeed in doing something we must speak and listen to him today. If at all possible I ask you to come to Spandikov's at 7 this evening. I'll be there with Mayakovsky and probably Matvejs [Markov]."[13]

The same day, unless there is an error in the date of either document, the programme of Mayakovsky's lecture was printed with the permission of the town governor.[14]

Clearly, the Union of Youth's public meeting was hastily arranged. But the details given above also provide crucial information about the foundation of the new poetry group called Hylaea, together with its links with the Union of Youth. In addition, they indicate the extent to which Shkol'nik, Spandikov, Zheverzheev and Markov were the decision makers of the group at this time. The tolerant and non-dogmatic leadership of these four

enabled the Union of Youth to be a dynamic forum for ideas in 1912 and 1913. Thus the evening of 20 November 1912 was given over not only to Burlyuk's lecture but also to Mayakovsky who gave a talk on "The Newest Russian Poetry".[15]

The Union of Youth evening was controversial, Burlyuk attempting, as promised, to "settle some old scores"[16] with the Petersburgers. His appearance in Petersburg with two lectures of the same title as those he had previously given in Moscow is indicative of his desire to spread his reputation between the capitals. Using a platform provided by the Union of Youth, Burlyuk could attempt to resume his place as Russia's leading protagonist of modern art usurped by Larionov and Goncharova earlier in the year. The Union of Youth was the perfect foil for his devices. Progressive in leadership, with a mood of enquiry into the latest movements, it was also, despite its short existence, something of an established organisation capable of bearing influence and attracting serious attention.

Burlyuk's appearances in Petersburg followed the same pattern as those earlier in the year in Moscow. The first, at the Union of Youth's event, was full of declamatory mocking of his opponents, while the second, at the Arts Association, was considerably more reasoned and calm. Still, he issued a programme for the first talk and it appears from reports that he followed it to an extent. Essentially, the two talks followed similar loose themes concerning the new movements in art. Thus, when it appeared that the slides could not be shown at the Union of Youth's evening they were found equally applicable to the Association's.[17]

Curiously, Burlyuk seems to have ignored Futurism, even though in one notice for 10 December the talk was given the title of "Cubism and Futurism".[18] Such an ommission is odd, considering that Futurism was arousing interest in Petersburg at this time, and the fact that Burlyuk himself had originally proposed to talk about "Futurists, French and Russian, old and new".[19] News of the Futurists had reached Russia after their exhibitions in Paris, Berlin and Brussels earlier in the year and reproductions of works such as Boccioni's The Laugh. Carrà's Funeral of the Anarchist Galli and Severini's The Boulevard had been carried in the press.[20] However, Burlyuk did not restrict his discussion to Cubist principles, and used the occasion of 20 November for an espousal of various ideas on the nature of modern art that were closely akin to those published a month later in A Slap in the Face of Public Taste [Poshchechina obshchestvonnomu vkusu].[21]

Burlyuk's lecture programme[22] consists of replies to various hypothetical questions posited by visitors to modernist exhibitions in Russia. These are contrasted to the denial of answers to "'art' critics", such as Benois. As an introduction, he summarised the contemporary situation in Paris, Petersburg and Moscow, and included in this the relations of the critics to the modern artists in Russia. This was followed by a short outline of the history of nineteenth century art in France culminating in the "abstract essence of Neo-Impressionism - Gauguin, Van Gogh, Cézanne, Matisse and Rousseau". The programme then included a discussion on whether such art existed in Russia or not, and an outline of his "canons of the new painting". Finally, Burlyuk looked forward to unrecorded

"new horizons".[23]

Reviews of the evening suggest that far from being didactic, Burlyuk revelled in slinging mud at his opponents, ignoring rational argument, and preferring to whip up emotions in the crowded hall:

> He talked long and slowly about how only with the twentieth century had painterly art begun to be painterly. And how everything done previously, from Raphael, Leonardo, Titian and Velasquez, right up to Serov, Levitan and Vrubel, is just rubbish - one colour photograph and nothing more. Proclaiming the canons of the new painting, which necessarily consist of colour, texture, line and surface, Burlyuk announced that the artist has the inalienable right to be the arbiter of public taste and that the public must unquestioningly believe the artist.[24]

Rostislavov continued with a fuller report of Burlyuk's canons of the new painting:

> New painting is constructed on concepts diametrically opposed to old concepts, that is on disproportion, disharmony and asymmetry. Painting must work out the problems that cannot be subjected to other arts. Its charm is in its component elements: line, plane, colour and texture. The new painting is scientific and the modern artist must, like a theoretician, proceed from a special study of the world. In nature line, colour, texture and surface are the fixed elements on which the material world is constructed. Previously there was an unconscious relation to nature; the modern artist must be inspired by a feeling of beauty that is fundamental and yet mysterious. Cubism is a plane interpretation of the world where everything is like a chart of geometric bodies. The fathers of the new interpretation of painting are Van Gogh, Gauguin and Cézanne.[25]

Although this description of Burlyuk's new ideas is superficial, perhaps because his talk avoided serious analysis, his programme outlines a number of important sources for the modern artist in the "barbaric arts" i.e. Russian folk art, Russian signboards (he called for a Museum of Signboards to be established in the Hermitage) and Russian folk songs.[26] Thus he emphasised his Neo-

Primitivist heritage.

The four elements of Burlyuk's canons concentrated on individual constructive elements: he drew attention to Kandinsky's concept of line, his own research into painterly texture[27], the shifting and "supplementary secant" planes of the French Cubists and a variety of uses of colour. In the last category he considered the "dissonance of Mashkov and Konchalovskii, the colour ponderability of Konchalovskii, Larionov's Minor and Major[28], the colour sequence of Lentulov and Vladimir Burlyuk, the flowing colouring of D.D. Burlyuk and the colour displacement of Léger."[29]

Despite this systematic approach, the furthest Burlyuk seems to have gone in his lectures, and then only in the Arts Association speech, was to recognise the modern artist's need to express: "the sensation of visual ponderability, show thickness and volume (as Léger does when depicting severed figures), to represent nature from several points of view, like ancient artists and children who present things full-face and in profile simultaneously."[30] Undoubtedly the force of his argument at the Union of Youth evening was taken away by the unexpected lack of illustrations and this added to the general impression of lack of substance.[31]

The sharpness of Burlyuk's words against critics and artists alike did little to substantiate his argument. Thus he likened Levitan and Repin to "a chocolate factory"[32] and described Vrubel as one "ungifted, who takes trouble only with the subject"[33]. Yet, underlying his rhetoric, there is clear evidence of an approach that relates to his Russian avant-garde colleagues. Thus he complements Matyushin's, Kul'bin's and Kandinsky's scientific-

mystical interpretation of the world and coincides with Markov's and Larionov's concentration on the painting as a made object. Burlyuk called for the artist to freely select and arrange elements - according to his "soul and unsullied by experience or schools"[34] - in a clear echo of the abstractionist tendencies of his colleagues. He seems to have ignored art's relationship with nature, describing an apparently non-mimetic art (the only model to be used was that of primitive art), yet, as for most of the Russian avant-garde, his study of the process of making the object that is his painting, also involved a vaguely expressed broadening of man's visual sensation of nature.[35]

Determining the extent of Burlyuk's knowledge of Cubism is difficult given the limitations of the reports about his lecture. Certainly he knew more than Benois gave him credit for: "... promising to acquaint the Petersburg public with the tenets of Cubism, he only succeeded in eloquently proving that he has understood nothing of Cubism himself and that he has no right to represent the interests of Cubism in Russia".[36] His 1912 trip to Europe, which included a stay in Paris, had occurred when Cubist ideas were being intensely discussed among artistic circles and in the press.[37] Indeed, he may have arrived in time to see the Salon des Indépendants, since it apparently only closed on 27 May 1912.[38] Thus, even if Burlyuk did not get to see the latest work of Picasso or Braque, he could have become aware of the ideas of the construction of a painting in terms of a linear grid, multiple viewpoints and the fragmentation of the objects into planes and their fusion, in the work of Le Fauconnier, Delaunay, Léger,

Gleizes or Metzinger.

Burlyuk's grappling with the definition and meaning of Cubism was undoubtedly hindered by two major factors. First, the itinerary and speed of his European trip gave him little time to absorb the latest developments properly. Secondly, Cubism could still not be identified as a homogenous movement based on definite principles.[39] Burlyuk's interpretation extrapolated various elements, such as the diminishing part played by natural appearances, the intellectual or conceptual approach leading to a selection of simple geometric forms, and the virtual denial of the subject. Even so, his demand that the artist "proceed from a special study of the world" and a "feeling of beauty that is... mysterious"[40] outlines a subjective approach in which the object still exists. Such ideas appear to coincide primarily with those expressed by Gleizes and Metzinger in Du Cubisme (1912): "...painting is... the art of... giving a pictorial expression to our intuitions... we must admit that reminiscences of natural forms cannot be absolutely banished."[41]

To a limited extent, this combination of expressive, plastic and formal tenets, so typical of the Russian avant-garde, found expression in Burlyuk's art as well.[42] Burlyuk's limitations were reflected in his ability to digest the art of the recent past without truly being able to look forward and use those forms in an innovative way. His place was that of a propagator, rather than instigator, of revolutionary ideas, without a vision of where they could lead.

Mayakovsky followed Burlyuk at the Troitskii Theatre with "The

Newest Russian Poetry", a talk in which he discussed poetry and art in almost identical terms to Burlyuk's. He mocked the narrative nature of poetry and the fear of individualism. He called for a free poetry based on myth, impulse and the rebirth of the primaeval role of the word. Closer to Markov than Burlyuk, he echoed Worringer's division of the world of art and life into two separate realms. The first was that of direct intuition, the second of mathematical logic.[43] The distinctive character of Mayakovsky's speech lay in its shocking terms. Thus he proclaimed that in painting it was necessary to be like a "cobbler" and that the "word demands spermitization."[44] Here, rather than in any depth of theory, was the verve of the new wave. It was expressed most forcefully and presaged, more than Burlyuk's ramblings, the next stage in Russian art. The analogous path for the modern arts seen by Mayakovsky was soon to be expressed in the Union of Youth's union with Hylaea.

The Sixth Union of Youth Exhibition 4 December 1912 – 10 January 1913

The Union of Youth's sixth exhibition opened on 4 December 1912 at 73, Nevskii Prospekt. Here early Russian experiments in Cubism and Futurism, and Larionov's Rayism, were shown to the Petersburg public for the first time, uniting with the persistent primitivism and symbolism of previous exhibitions. The press was almost universal in its criticism: the exhibition was not to be taken seriously, but should be regarded as somewhere bright, colourful and humorous to go on a grey winter's day in Petersburg.[45] Benois, the object of Burlyuk's scorn, was one of the few critics to try to find meaning in the work, and to welcome the search for novelty with discerning, if patronising, judgment. He summed up his overall impression of the exhibition: "... it is small, and cramped in a humble apartment but it makes up for it with full passion, self-assertion and daring rushes at innovation 'at all costs'".[46]

Once again exhibits numbered only just over one hundred. The catalogue named twenty-two exhibitors, eight of whom were from Moscow. The latter were not separated in the catalogue or at the show. Although Markov and Bubnova were again absent, the founding members Matyushin (who had rejoined joined the group in November 1912), Mostova and Voinov were re-united with the group and exhibited with it for the first time. In addition, Baller and the Burlyuk brothers were back after their notable absence from the two previous shows, and the Donkey's Tail was represented by Larionov,

Goncharova, Malevich, Tatlin and Shevchenko. Of the regular contributors only Filonov, Zel'manova and L'vov failed to show works.[47] During the six weeks it was open, more than six thousand visitors paid to see the exhibition and numerous works were sold - including those by Rozanova, Malevich, Shkol'nik, Shleifer and Potipaka.[48] The success of the exhibition led to the proposal for it to travel to Helsingfors (Helsinki) but there is no evidence that this happened.[49]

Benois divided the exhibitors into three trends:

> 1) those who practise Cubism and "with all their strength try to be angular, decisive in their "leit-lines" and distinctive in those geometric bodies to which they reduce the visible world.";
> 2) those who practise "greater colourism and floridity. Their ideals being Matisse, Cézanne or Gauguin";
> 3) and those who "follow Stelletskii and even... glance at the reminiscences of Dobuzhinskii."[50]

The vast majority of the Union of Youth members belonged to Benois' second and third categories. Minor contributors, such as Nagubnikov and Lyubavina belonged to Benois' second trend. Nagubnikov, making his last appearance with the group and in keeping with his earlier contributions, displayed three "attractive" still-lifes (one a bouquet of roses) in which he displayed his "love for Paul Cézanne".[51] Mostova, on the other hand was more eclectic. Despite her controversial association with the Union of Youth in early 1910, she now exhibited with it for the only time. She contributed two sketches which Benois described as having value in their colour but lacking linear quality. A typical work of this period, Roofs. Petersburg (Plate 6.1), overtly recalls the Petersburg scenes of Dobuzhinskii with its bold line and

elevated viewpoint.

Potipaka almost certainly belonged to Benois' third category. Earlier in the year he had been compared to Stelletskii and Vrubel and his work seems to have retained similar stylization, combining symbolism (Angels, My Dream and Lyric Poetry) with decoration (Motif of a Tapestry, Sketch for Stage Design, Red Town) and Eastern themes (From Memories about Siberia, Something Eastern). The following description outlines the formal qualities of the artist's contributions:

> P. Potipaka presents himself as the most serious and promising participant in the exhibition. I speak only about the sketch Women (No. 58). Here there is linear ability and interesting, though far from balanced or harmonic, colour. The other works by Potipaka are less distinctive. In them there is something from Rerikh, some deliberate stylisation taken from the lubok, everything, but no artist.[52]

Shleifer and Shkol'nik were primitive-colorists according to Benois' second category. On this occasion it was Shkol'nik, exhibiting seventeen works (far more than any other participant), who attracted most attention. Descriptions of his work do not indicate any dramatic new developments, although the effect of having a hall to himself, together with the unified character of the canvases encouraged greater critical appreciation. Benois found that Shkol'nik, with his "attractive series of paintings is apparently pretending to the still vacant, and most honourable place of 'the Petersburg Matisse'".[53] In fact, Shkol'nik's work was given over more predominantly than in earlier exhibitions to bright studies of flowers. Only a series of four pictures, depicting the seasons of summer and autumn, and Twilight (familiar themes for Shkol'nik since 1908 when he began exhibiting with

Kul'bin), seem to have not used flowers as their subjects. His concentration on exploring the compositional possibilities of a single subject attained highly decorative results in 1912:

> The last room where the colourful sketches and studies of I. Shkol'nik are hung - the flower beds, flowers, sunflowers, cannas and nasturtiums, and still lifes - is very bright and joyous. Everything is expressed in bright colour combinations with dominating patches of blue, orange, red and yellow. Only the sharp accentuation of the angular design is excessive, to the extent that it damages the generally beautiful impression of his canvases.[54]

Such a serious study of colour, derived from Matisse, meant that any national quality was not necessarily evident. Indeed, Shkol'nik's flowers included the tropical cannas, chosen for their irregular shape and bright yellows and reds, sunflowers, Michaelmas daisies and nasturtiums - flowers marked by their strikingly different forms and exotic colours.

It is possible that Shkol'nik may have employed cylindrical, metallic-coloured forms similar to those Malevich began to use after coming into contact with the work of Léger in 1912[55], as one critic noted: "Let others evaluate the thick honey, copper-pipe colours of Shkol'nik".[56] More certain is the lack of modelling and perspective similar to Goncharova in Harvest, and derived from Matisse in Harmony in Red (see above, previous Chapter). This is most evident in Still-Life with Vases (Plate 6.2) where Shkol'nik concentrates on the use of colour. The composition is strictly divided between those flat elements 'floating' on the surface (two vases with flowers and a bowl with three green pears), and those behind. Pictorial space is flattened and patterned, setting up a tense equilibrium between the horizontal and vertical planes. The

black tablecloth and lilac-pink drapery combine with the patterned wall in one vivid surface of colour. However, the overlap and intersection of forms, such as the drapery covering the bottom edge of the tray, creates spatial ambiguity and recalls paper collage. The work, with its deliberate artificiality, is a play of 'minor' colour tones - violet, orange, lilac-pink, and pale green. These combine with the varied shapes and patterns of the still-life to make it a highly ornamental work. The central black lacquered tray, is a Russian folk source for Neo-Primitivist technique.

In late 1912, Shkol'nik was closer than any other Union of Youth member to Rozanova.[57] However, Rozanova, exhibiting more works than on any previous occasion (she showed eleven canvases), displayed a greater variety of themes; still-lifes, urban landscapes and a portrait. The over-riding character of these works was Fauvist. Three works, all of which were probably shown at the exhibition, serve to elucidate Rozanova's approach and her study of faktura. Red House (cat. 72? Plate 6.3) shows a flattening of form akin to Shkol'nik's Winter and Goncharova's Larionov and his Platoon Leader (see previous chapter). Spatial ambiguity is created by the linear perspective of the foreground being denied by the flattened forms of the houses in the background while the trees on either side create a stylized symmetry. The artificiality of the work is emphasized by the angularity of line describing the trees and buildings and the unnatural colour combinations - e.g. the grey-brown trees, pink and green roofs. The generalization of form imbues a decorative simplicity to the primitivist work.

Rozanova's Smithy (Plate 6.4) uses a cloisonné technique to

add a new, bold linearity while retaining her brightened, Fauvist palette. However, here there is a sense of volume and spatial recession. The pillars of the red hut curve to the right while those of the yellow hut curve in upon themselves; elsewhere roofs curve upwards or are straight, the ground undulates and the back of the smith in the foreground is circular - this medley of rhythms gives the work a certain instability. Despite this play of pictorial elements the subject is clearly identifiable - iron is smelted, then forged on the anvil; a horse waits to be shod.

Rozanova's decorative Portrait of A.V. Rozanova (cat.73, Plate 6.5)[58] is essentially Fauvist. The flattened, partly sculptural rendition of the model, chaise-longue and flowers, with its bold outline combines with a certain ambiguity of spatial recession to indicate the limited extent of Rozanova's departure from academic convention. However, this bears intriguing relations with a graphic work by Rozanova (Plate 6.6). Initially the latter appears to be a sketch for the portrait as the figure reclines in the same position, wearing a similar hat and dress. Yet it seems that, on the contrary, the painting has served as the study for the drawing. Here figurative components are reduced to bold strokes of broken, emphatic black line. There is no attempt at modelling. Only the minimum of outline remains to hint at the drapery above the woman's arm and her hat. The curvilinear line recalls Tatlin's sailors but lacks both his underlying rhythm and degree of modelling. By comparison with this drawing and the series to which it belongs, in late 1912 Rozanova's concentration on abstract principles in art appears little developed. Reproduced in The Union of Youth (No.3),

together with a series of other graphic works, the drawing indicates the new analyis of constructive elements that Rozanova advocated in early 1913 (see Chapter Seven).

Ivan Al'bertovich Puni (1894-1956) had returned to Petersburg after studying at the Académie Julien in Paris for two years and the sixth Union of Youth exhibition was his first in Russia. He contributed just one work Breakfast (cat.67) which was described by Matyushin as "a large... strong work - an expressive, volumetric and ponderous figure of a woman".[59] Matyushin hinted at a certain extremity of formal solution, since he claimed that he defended the inclusion of Puni's work (together with Vladimir Burlyuk's Portrait of Benedikt Livshits) in the exhibition against the disapproval of Shkol'nik, Shleifer and Spandikov.[60]

There is a similar difficulty in identifying Matyushin's own work - four landscapes and Sculpture of Knotted Wood (Composition). However, lacking the primitivism prevalent in other Union of Youth members, it was clearly distinct. In his unpublished autobiography, he noted that the sculpture was made from a root and that it "revealed the idea of movement".[61] Photographs of Matyushin's root sculptures show little thin and delicate, twisted figures, stretching in contorted movement that is at once human and organically natural (see Plate 6.7).[62] Most of these are reminiscent of extended and emaciated human torsoes and limbs. Matyushin allows the shapes of the root to dictate the dynamic of the composition. Thus, rather than copying visual nature Matyushin presented natural forms in such a way as to express nature's underlying rhythms. The use of the root was ideal for this - its

growth, largely underground, goes on continually and yet invisibly. As such, it is symbolic of the universal movement in nature.

Matyushin believed, like Kul'bin, that such movement, subject as it is to natural laws, was scientifically established and consequently perceivable by analysis. Accordingly, he sought to determine the unison of outer form and inner structure in a single tensile work. Such an exploration of the substance of matter used nature not only as "the departure point for art", but also as the essence of art. Matyushin's concentration on observation of nature led him to the belief that man's perception, that is his visual apprehension of reality, could be extended. He felt able to perceive the universal motion. Thus, like many others associated with the Union of Youth (the Burlyuks, Markov, Larionov, Spandikov and later Malevich), he sought a heightened awareness for the artist in order that he may express a perceived essence. The root sculpture and, no doubt, the landscapes were the expression of such a broadened perception.

Although the exact identity of Matyushin's landscapes shown at the sixth exhibition is impossible to ascertain, they received some critical attention from Shuiskii: "M. Matyushin, with his landscapes (especially Nos. 44 and 47) in gentle feminine colours, should be singled out from all the exhibitors".[63] Elsewhere he described them as "ingenuous".[64] During 1911 and 1912 Matyushin created many tempera studies of the shore of the Gulf of Finland and the trees that surround that shore. The Sea[65], for example, is as an abstract study of the shoreline. Dominated by gently curving horizontal lines, the composition is comprised of pale blues and

greens, and soft yellows and creams. Similarly, Two Pines[66], with trunks depicted close to the picture surface and neither treetop nor root, is a study of the curved lines and planes of nature. Through these lines nature reveals its true essence. Matyushin thus brings the Russian avant-garde back to the lessons of Monet's Impressionism. Here the high horizon leads to a pale sky. Below is the sea divided from the land by another horizontal - a pale green line. The tree trunks are heavy verticals that change from reddish blue to brown. Such works, as representations of organic life, anticipate Matyushin's theory of spatial realism, based on a perception of the world transformed by persistent observation and analysis.[67]

The Muscovites

At the sixth exhibition, perhaps more than any other, the Union of Youth members were distinguishable from their Moscow colleagues. The distinction was based upon a shift in artistic values seen in the Muscovites' contributions. However, this did not affect all of the exhibitors, nor by any means the majority of works. Indeed, as previously, the mood was primarily Neo-Primitivist. The only exceptions were a few works by Malevich, one by Goncharova, two or three by Larionov and a similar number by the Burlyuks.[68] This, though, was enough to mark the start of an important change that was to profoundly alter the appearance of the Union of Youth for the final year of its existence.

David Burlyuk's four contributions received much attention in the press, if primarily for their titles: Moments of the

Decomposition of a Plane with Elements of Wind and Evening introduced into a Maritime Landscape (Odessa) represented from Four Points of View; "Young Lady", Free Drawing (Colour Instrumentation: Colour Hyperbolism); "Portrait of a Student" (Turkish Style, Colour Hyperbolism); and Leit-Line conceived according to the Assyrian Method and the Principle of Flowing Colouring. The pretentiousness of such titles, which were spontaneously thought up after the painting was finished, was deliberate. According to Livshits[69], Burlyuk's intentions were to shock the public and scoff at the pomposity of European scientific jargon for which there was no Russian equivalent. Nevertheless, the use of such terms, despite their over-embellishment, to express simple concepts, was not unrelated to Burlyuk's new concentration on, and analysis of, the formal qualities of painting.[70]

Despite the attention the paintings attracted, few critics took them seriously, and most ignored their content and structure. Furthermore, the critics' lack of knowledge and understanding of developments abroad led to sweeping generalisations concerning the "Cubistic" qualities of Burlyuk's work.[71] In fact, "Portrait of a Student" (cat. 9), described by Benois as a "study... of a very terrifying student"[72], far from being Cubist was primitivist. A rough-looking male figure, with a swarthy face and large-collared shirt, fills the picture space. Of Burlyuk's four contributions apparently this work alone retained a single viewpoint and figurative subject matter.[73] Lazarevskii asserted that "Young Lady" (cat. 8) bore absolutely no resemblance to the title.[74] It was possibly this work which had written near its "lower" edge the

words "Bottom of the painting"[75] indicative of both an abstract and satirical content. The use of words in an art which he himself demanded should be strictly painterly was deliberately self-contradictory. Likewise, was the need to "explain" to the observer what was up and what was down, in a work created with as little recourse to rational consciousness as possible. Although included primarily to attract attention to the work, the device of words also responds to the use of written forms, including graffiti, in Larionov's and Malevich's work.

Lazarevskii claimed that "some kind of small insect" is represented "against a background of frenzied coloured ravings"[76] in Leit-Line (cat. 10). What the critic saw as a small insect was actually a combination of arbitrary elements that suggest a relationship with Malevich's ensuing trans-rationalism: "A circle, two little sticks, one eye, two squares and a moustache".[77] According to Mirskii this was described by the artist as a "panorama of a cement factory".[78] Any association with such a concrete subject could only be intuited, since the composition consisted of abstract intersecting geometrical figures (triangles). The realistic elements of the moustache and eye act as a counterpoint to the decomposition of forms, but the overall impression is one of movement. Such a defraction of compositional elements is opposed to Cubism's retention of the subject as the point of pictorial construction despite its fragmentation.

Benois described Maritime Landscape (cat. 7, Plate 6.8) as "pseudo-Cubist nonsense".[79] Indeed, it is at once a play with the geometric forms and multiple viewpoint of Cubism and an alogical

composition of a variety of visually-perceived elements. Unlike Young Lady there was no "bottom of the painting".[60] Recognisable figurative elements are reduced to two-dimensional, simplified forms. At the same time a collage effect is attained. From one angle there appears a yacht comprised of simple planes in the bottom left corner and the triangular sail of a yacht, many times the size of the other, dominating the right side of the canvas. This second sail even has realistic creases indicated by shading. If the painting is turned clockwise through ninety degrees, there appears at the bottom, apparently bent against the wind, the primitive figure of an orthodox Jew - a symbol for the large Jewish population of Odessa. Thus the "elements of wind and evening introduced into a maritime landscape (Odessa)" are identifiable. A further ninety degrees and in the bottom right corner is what seems to be the walls and roofs of buildings in light and shade (representative perhaps, of evening). Such a conglomeration of elements, not all immediately visible, together with abstract feather-like squirls and facetted blocks in the centre of the picture, apparently created with all the colours of the palette[61], creates an impression of chaotic disorder.

Burlyuk has used not only a medley of colours but one of formal elements - mixing the representational with the abstract. The very faktura of painting is being toyed with and emphasised, as some elements are flattened and others deliberately set in relief. The fourth point of view could be taken from above, as the illusion is created of objects coming out of the canvas. This is not a work about the broadened vision of man but a glorified play with

the properties and principles of painting. It is not a Cubist work since the subject is too disparate, that is, the subject of the painting is not an object fragmented into planes and constructed on the basis of a linear grid. In addition, the movement is not round the subject but with it. In this sense the work appears closer to Futurist principles in the depiction of a temporal space.

Vladimir Burlyuk's work was hung with his brother's at one end of the exhibition premises and this contributed to the critics lack of differentiation between the two.[82] Like David, Vladimir's work appears not to have been new: two of his three exhibits, Geotropism and Portrait of the Poet Benedikt Livshits, had previously been shown at the Knave of Diamonds exhibition in January. The third, Portrait of Nikolai Burlyuk (cat.6), contained formal elements not dissimilar to the first two: "[Burlyuk] tries to pass off as a portrait of his brother a brightly coloured icositetrahedron".[83] This geometricisation was evident in Portrait of Benedikt Livshits (cat.5, Plate 6.9). As noted above, the Union of Youth committee were doubtful about hanging the work.[84] Furthermore, Livshits, having argued with the Burlyuks after David's unsuccessful lecture, demanded the removal of the label with his name on it.[85] The painting, like much of Burlyuk's recent work, was composed of flat intersecting planes - in red, yellow and orange. The use of chiaroscuro in the brightly lit head and its shadow gives the unusual, for Burlyuk, illusion of real space. The figure is described by bold, angular contours. A primitive, sculptural quality is attained by the crudity of the geometric forms and the coarse, textured finish as Burlyuk concentrates on a static

representation of painterly values.

Such an emphasis was expressed dynamically in Geotropism (cat. 4) and in a similar painting, Heliotropism (Plate 6.10), which had also been exhibited at the Knave of Diamonds. The critic S. P-n. described the gravitational movement in Geotropism as if it had been truly and abstractly expressed through the "wedge-shaped dull coloured shards"[86]:

> The vertical line does not have direction but one could draw on one end a sharp arrow-shape and on the other a plume and no-one would doubt where the arrow was flying to. In the same way the black colour is heavier than the light. Consequently, with the general pointedness of the lines directed towards earth and the general colour weight - in a word with means of universal conventionality, that is with generally recognised symbolism, it is possible to attain on the canvas a definite directed movement of line and colour. The whole canvas appears to turn into an index finger.[87]

The critic sees Burlyuk's canvas as failing to question man's conventional conception and vision of geotropic motion. The nature of space is thus unaltered: "Space at the moment of contemplation of such an ideal canvas should become for us that "mathematically visual space"...[of] David Burlyuk".[88] The fact that Burlyuk's lines and colour give a sense of upper or lower rather than attempting to change the observer's 'geotropic consciousness' is indicative that Burlyuk did not seek to depict a new spatial dimension, but restricted himself to one already generally acknowledged. Having limited himself in this respect the critic sees Burlyuk's work as successful.

Geotropism coincides with the current of new ideas concerning the nature of space then circulating among Burlyuk's circle of young artists, and evident, for example, in Matyushin's work. The

work used flat abstract colour forms to depict a concept of movement, without reference to any conventionally representative form. Space thereby becomes real and tangible. As such, it bears relation to the Italian Futurists desire to depict motion. Burlyuk's subject has become objectless spatial motion and his embodiment of this in painterly form was new.[89] However, he was still concerned with long established ideas about the nature of movement in space (and, in Heliotropism, in light) rather than the exploration of new dimensions.

The Donkey's Tail artists who exhibited, consisted only of Larionov, Goncharova, Malevich, Tatlin and Shevchenko. They were not separated from Union of Youth exhibitors. However, on 20 September 1912 Larionov had written to Zheverzheev offering to organise an independent Donkey's Tail exhibition in Petersburg and, coincidentally, "an article on Rayism - a new trend in painting founded by me", for the next edition of the group's journal.[90] In the event neither offer materialised and the above five members of Donkey's Tail were included in the Union of Youth's show. Thus Rayist painting was shown in Petersburg for the first time.

Shevchenko and Tatlin had changed only subtly from their previous appearances. The three works by Shevchenko (Sleeping Man, Boy and Urban and Suburban Carriage Park) continued his decorative study of primitive forms, though with increasing Cubist facetting of geometricised planes. Tatlin's eight works, again focused on maritime subjects. Contemporary accounts indicate that he had further modernised his forms by reducing their linear elements to curves.[91] Exhibited for the first time, Sailor (Plate 6.11),

continues the examination of pictorial construction with calligraphic line seen in Self-Portrait. Again there is little recession - the flatness is emphasized by by the bold brushwork and the positioning of the two sailor figures around the head. Light falls on the central sailor's face yet there is no consistent chiaroscuro. This highlighting, together with the severe control of linear rhythms across the picture surface, confirm his study of icon painting. Further evidence of this is seen in the strict distinction of blue and yellow and the square format.

Malevich, like Tatlin, exhibited at the "Modern Painting" exhibition which opened on 27 December 1912 in Moscow. He contributed works to both shows with similar titles, motifs and pictorial solutions (e.g. The Mower, In the Fields, Harvest). And like Tatlin he remained attached to a figurative art, utilizing icon techniques and format (see below, concerning his Portrait of Ivan Vasil'evich Klyunkov).

However, Malevich preferred rural scenes to maritime ones, and his constructive form was marked by its straight contours and illusion of volume. He exhibited twelve works - six paintings and six sketches. Two paintings, Harvest and Peasant Funeral (cat. 33, Plate 6.5), already shown at Donkey's Tail, retained the vulgarised, heavily delineated forms of his 'orthodox' Neo-Primitivism.[92] In Malevich's other work the use of the peasant motif continued, but the concentration on pictorial device which Neo-Primitivism had introduced was now radically altered. In the Fields (cat. 35, Plate 6.5) and the similar Taking in the Rye (Plate 6.12), shown at the concurrent "Modern Painting" exhibition, were

almost certainly painted in the summer/autumn of 1912.[93] This gave Malevich time to absorb and interpret, without accusations of pastiche, the French work he had seen at the second Knave of Diamonds exhibition, and in particular Le Fauconnier's sketch to Abundance and Léger's Essay for Three Portraits.[94]

In both works, Malevich uses conical and tubular forms, derived from Léger, to provide a dense but shallow picture space and construct the figures. The material is disguised by metallic tones created by shifting gradations of colour within a plane. Outline is now all but the edge of a volume. The world is dehumanised to an even greater degree than the earlier primitivist works. This is attained by Malevich's implantation of the material of the industrial, modern world on a rural subject. Even so, the figures remain simplified and volumetric, and are arranged in limited depth. The integrity of the picture surface, particularly that of Taking in the Rye. is attained by covering the whole surface with forms of equivalent density and weight; by the elimination of tonal recession; and by the compilation of forms, one on another, to the top of the canvas.

The Woodcutter (cat.37?, Plate 6.13) takes the devices seen in Taking in the Rye a step further. The unnatural colour and crudely expressed volumes of the figure holding the axe, and the logs surrounding him in all directions, coincide to camouflage individual elements. There is no ground and no horizon only flattened and solid green, orange and red logs. Unlike Goncharova's Woodcutter (Plate 4.28) of two years previously, Malevich fuses the subject entirely with its surroundings. Even

the almond-shaped eye, fails to disturb the overall rhythm. Everything, excluding the hand and shoe of the woodcutter, is reduced to geometric forms.

Portrait of Ivan Vasil'evich Klyunkov (cat. 36, Plate 6.5) is similar to The Woodcutter, although the head is more clearly marked out from the cylindrical forms of the background. Here the background shows stylized houses and fields on a curved plane. The icon-like simplicity of the face and the realistic object (possibly an icon) in the top right corner, ensure that the observer does not feel this is a detached, de-humanised work. From this it is clear that Malevich still persisted in imparting an essential social and spiritual sense to his 1912 works.

Malevich's selection at the Union of Youth's exhibition, like that at "Modern Painting", reflected the development in his work during 1912. Much confusion has recently existed over the exact dating of many of Malevich's works and consequently a number of both Cubo-Futurist works and works from Malevich's later peasant series, have been attributed earlier dates than they should.[95] In late 1912 Malevich was working almost exclusively in the style seen in The Woodcutter.[96] That is he was revising and rejecting earlier primitivist experiments without yet developing the examination of space through facetted form seen in his Cubo-Futurist work. There exists no evidence that this later style was created prior to mid-1913.

Goncharova exhibited six works - including two fragments of her "Collection of Grapes" series (The Bull and Wine Drinkers), The City at Night and The Woodcutters). Although several of these have

disappeared, they appear to have essentially remained Neo-Primitivist. Thus the critic Aleksandr A. demanded a closer attention to the details of the figures' hands "and not to limit them to random strokes that instead of fingers depict irregular sausages."[97] This crude style was seen in Wine Drinkers (cat. 15, Plate 6.14), which retains the same approach to form as already seen in Fishing and Reapers earlier in the year.

The only example of a new style was a single Rayist work, City at Night (cat. 16, Plate 6.15) which was described as similar to Larionov's Rayist Sausage and Mackerel "but more interesting in its graphic decorativeness and coloring".[98] In this work, Goncharova depicts a confused conglomeration of windows, walls and roofs, which lacks all sense of monumentality and which, occasionally interspersed by fine rays, fills the picture space. As yet the rays remain small and of little pictorial significance. The chaotic order of the objects and their fragmentation shows a new awareness of both Delaunay (his City series of 1911 especially) and of the Italian Futurists, both of whom had held widely publicised exhibitions in Paris in February.[99] Indeed, Delaunay's Cities, which become increasingly abstract and difficult to read, have a sense of light and movement similar to Goncharova, and are composed of a series of small, flat or tilted, interlocking planes.

Shuiskii sensed that Goncharova's work was closer to Larionov's than previously.[100] This was indicative of their intensified collaboration in 1912. At this time Goncharova moved away from an overtly decorative primitivism towards the disintegration of forms. This move towards an art that was

primarily concerned to express immaterial objects in space, necessarily deprived Larionov's and Goncharova's work of their distinctly non-European subjects. Even so, Rayism was an early embodiment of the trend in Russia to discern and express the intangible in nature, though it now added a scientific emphasis. As such it predates Malevich's and Tatlin's exploration of the nature of space. In 1912 these two artists were still more concerned with the material quality of painting itself, than the painting of the immaterial. Still, despite the extremity of its pictorial solution, Rayism does have factors in common with primitivism.

The first Rayist works exhibited were Larionov's Glass (Rayist Method) and Rayist Study, shown at the World of Art's Moscow autumn exhibition.[101] This exhibition opened on 13 November 1912, three weeks prior to the Union of Youth's sixth show. Neither of the Rayist works was discussed in the press. Larionov's seven exhibits at the Union of Youth revealed the climax of his primitivism and the introduction of Rayism. Both styles, despite their dissimilarities, showed a snubbing of both pictorial and social convention. This lack of convention identifies a similar concern - to establish new laws for painting. Spring (cat. 22, Plate 6. 16), from a series of "infantile primitivist" works depicting the seasons, shows a flat, childishly deformed head and shoulders of a naked prostitute. Even the sexuality, despite the breasts, is ambiguous. As in previous work a pig strolls across the background, but on this occasion its eye is huge and lozenge-shaped. The uneven writing of "Spring 1912" across the canvas is

indicative, like David Burlyuk's "Bottom of the painting" and Malevich's "Argentinian Polka", of a desire to incorporate extraneous literary elements into the content.

Larionov's Rayism marked a move to the expression of objectless reality. Although he eventually expounded his theory in the booklet Rayism [Luchizm], published in April 1913 (and in subsequent articles), earlier conceptions of what the style meant to him are more persuasive as appropriate to the art exhibited at the end of 1912. In October 1912, having interviewed Larionov on his new painting, the critic V. Mak reported:

> "Rayism... is to generalise everything on one plane... As in Cubism objects are broken down into planes, in Rayism they are turned into a play of lines. The Rayist painting is an infinite series of coloured stripes and rays from which form dimly and gradually arises."[102]

Such a description makes Rayism an art of realism. Larionov, clearly influenced by the Italian Futurists' 'force-lines', tried to differentiate his forms in space from the temporal forms of the Futurists, claiming that Rayism was indigenous to Russia.

Mak described four works completed by October 1912, two of which, the landscape and Portrait of a Fool (Plate 6.17), were exhibited at the Union's show (cat.23 and 21 respectively):

> ... the Rayist landscape: all the trees stretch to the sun and the sun to them, from the roofs of the houses come light rays, the tops of the bushes burn like flares, everything is radiant and shines in a play of light. The triptych entitled Farm is curious: it consists of three canvases. The first depicts a Portrait of a Bull, chewing straw, despite the fact that the bull closely resembles a thoughtful man with a yellow face and yellow moustache; the second represents Portrait of a Fool and in it nothing is possible to make out despite the artist's explanation; the third part is called Cocks and Hens and is comprised of a very beautiful combination of yellow and red colours. The first impression is one of chaos but look attentively and you see how, from the light that emanates from the haze, in the changing colours of the radiant surfaces of

the lines, there arises in this canvas the fantastic spectre of a gigantic gleaming bird.[103]

In three of the four works described, as in 'infantile primitivism', some semblance of the visual appearance of the object survived. In an interview published in January 1913, Larionov spoke of his new style as that of the sum of impressions possible from a given object.[104] Using the optical theory that claims that all we see is light rays either direct from their source or reflected by the edges of the objects they strike, Larionov stated that he sought to paint the web of intersecting and interweaving rays that thereby existed. Nature could thus be represented more fully than previously: "By using the principles of Rayism I can attain a universality in the representation of this or that object".[105]

Larionov gave the artist a new visual form to depict. In his notes for a lecture on Rayism that he intended to give for the Union of Youth in March 1913, he wrote of the "denial of form as existing for painting besides the image in the eye".[106] Furthermore, in his article "Rayist Painting", he noted a debt to Cézanne whose *passage* between planes occurred because he possessed the "keenness of sight...to notice the reflex rubbing, as it were, of a small part of one object against the reflected rays of another."[107] Larionov's form was spatial, arising from the intersection of rays selected according to the artist's will. It could be the "representation of all previously existing forms... the expression of sensation and the extratemporal"[108], and hence it gained a spiritual quality that Larionov likened to the fourth

dimension. He preferred not to elaborate on this, however, perhaps fearing to fall into the traps of symbolism and mysticism, while attempting to keep his theory, with its scientific basis, purely formal and relative to painting.

Portrait of a Fool shows Rayism as a mass of coloured lines filling the picture surface without dissecting it. These virtually obliterate the references to a face which appear to underlie them. All attempt to express volume is neglected. The geometric principles employed by Malevich are denied, although the lines remain straight, and apparently revolving, in a plethora of triangles around a central axis. Objects are more readily perceptible in Rayist Sausage and Mackerel (cat. 26, Plate 6.18), which, despite its tangle of intersecting colour lines, belongs to Larionov's "realist Rayism". In the midst of the lines are several blue mackerel fish, lying parallel in an orange-brown tin in the centre of the canvas. To the left and right of them, at a variety of angles, are the cut forms of the sausage. These objects give the work a shallow depth. Here, the significance of the coloured lines and painterly texture, counterpointed by the figurative objects, is more evident. These were the fundamental painterly laws to which Larionov tried to adhere in Rayism, and as such are close to Tatlin's evocation of the essential expressive means in his fishermen series. Indeed, Larionov's formless Portrait of a Fool almost echoes, despite its lack of curves, Tatlin's circular rhythms.

Evidently, the Union of Youth's sixth exhibition marked a turning point in the group's history, as the Muscovites, while still reliant on primitivist techniques and motifs, introduced new principles of pictorial composition, derived from a knowledge of Cubist and Futurist developments, but marked by distinct qualities (e.g. Malevich's, Goncharova's and Tatlin's use of the icon and peasant themes, and Larionov's specific notion of rays), that set them apart from the West Europeans. The style of the Petersburg members appears to have become more decorative, but with only seven of the fourteen artists exhibiting more than three works, any underlying shift in values and styles is difficult to substantiate. However, Rozanova's new prominence, with a series of Fauvist landscapes and still-lifes, combined with similar interests seen in Shkol'nik's and Shleifer's work, to indicate a new concentration on colour and space. With the absence of Filonov and Markov, only Potipaka and Spandikov seem to have retained the overt symbolism of previous exhibitions.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Bakhrushin Central State Theatrical Museum, Moscow, Fond 99, op. 1, ed. khr. 59, l. 1. Enigmatically, Markov ends his letter: "It is a pity Gaush isn't here, otherwise I'd have got him enthusing, just like I enticed Shchukin." No other evidence is known to exist concerning Markov's aquaintance with, and possible influence upon, Shchukin.

2. Concerning Markov's invitation to Marc, see Marc's letter to Markov, 3 August 1912, Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 42. Concerning Markov's correspondence with Kandinsky, including mention of Picasso, African art and a book on Cubism ("It should be published in Paris this summer"), see Kandinsky letter to Markov, 29 July 1912, Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 31, cited in E. Kovtun, "V. Markov i otrkytie afrikanskogo iskusstva", Pamyatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiya 1980 (Leningrad) 1981, pp. 413-414. The book referred to is almost certainly Gleizes and Metzinger's Du Cubisme, as this had been advertised as appearing in March 1912, though in fact it was only published in the second half of the year (see E. Fry, Cubism (London), 1978 pp. 111 and 196).

3. See, for example, [anon.] "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi ('Kubistov') v Peterburge" Ogonek No. 1, 6 January 1913, unpaginated.

4. See, C. Douglas, Swans of Other Worlds. (Ann Arbor), 1980, pp. 20 and 89n. 9.

5. See N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda. (Stockholm), 1976, p. 12.

6. Bakhrushin Museum Archive, cited in Khardzhiev, Ibid. p. 13.

7. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 7-10.

8. Vladimir Yurevich El'sner, 1886-1964, Kievan poet and translator. Friend of Livshits.

9. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 10.

10. Burlyuk contributed ten works to the Arts Association. These included two landscapes Morning in the Garden and Morning in which "he has found unreal and interesting colour, strength and light" (B. Shuiskii, "Vystavka khudozhestvenno-artisticheskaya assotsiatsiya", Den' (St. Petersburg) No. 42, 13 November 1912, p. 4), as well as "a return to the free painting of the "Diamonds" in Three Horses, that is so vain and unnecessary." (ibid. and see Sh[uiskii]., "Khudozhestvenno-Artisticheskaya Assotsiatsiya", Protiv techeniya (St. Petersburg) No. 5, 17 November 1912, p. 5). Mayakovsky contributed two landscapes, one entitled Volga. The Arts Association's exhibition contained 600 exhibits that varied from realism to interpretations of Cubism. Most were contributed

by art students from all over Russia. One of the rules of exhibiting (which was done without a panel of judges) was that participants had not shown their work in more than two public exhibitions. Burlyuk seems to have been the exception to this rule. Other exhibitors included El Lissitskii, Valentin Yakovlev, Val'ter, Voinov, Mozalevskii, Zadkin and Chekrygin.

11. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 10. He also noted that he would leave Moscow on 15 November and that Mayakovsky had just left for Petersburg and was staying with Nikolai Burlyuk. This helps establish the date of the founding of the Hylaea poetry group.

12. Z. "Konflikt poetov v Brodyachei sobake" Obozrenie teatrov No. 1915, 19 November 1912. This amalgamation bore first fruit in the Union of Youth's third journal - in which the new group Hylaea participated. The Union of Youth representative may well have been Matyushin since he records having been at the evening (Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 15).

13. Bakhrushin Museum Archive, cited from Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 14.

14. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 12. It seems more likely that this took place the day after Shkol'nik's letter, even though both are dated 13 November.

15. See his lecture programme, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 12.

16. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 10.

17. The slides included works by Raphael, Courbet, Monet, Cézanne, Matisse, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Léger, Picasso, Rousseau, Larionov, Mashkov, Lentulov, Konchalovskii and Kandinsky.

18. See Rech' No. 333, 4 December 1912 p. 6.

19. See Footnote 6. It is curious that Burlyuk refers to "French" rather than "Italian" Futurists. However, his list of slides does not include any Italian Futurists, and he may have originally thought to discuss the works of Léger and Delaunay with reference to Futurism.

20. The Futurists' exhibitions were first held in Paris (5-24 February 1912), London (March 1912), Berlin (opened 12 May) and Brussels (20 May to June 1912). The works mentioned were reproduced in N. Shebuev "Kubisty. Novyya veyaniya v zhivopisi", Solntse rossii (St. Petersburg) No. 122, June 1912, pp. 10-11. See also, [anon.] "Khudozhniki futuristov" Ves' mir (St. Petersburg), No. 18, May 1912, p. 30; Vip. "Na vystavke futuristov (Pis'mo iz Bryussele), Moskovskaya gazeta, No. 192, 28 May 1912, p. 2; Aleksandr Koiranskii "Itogi futurizma" Obozrenie teatrov, No. 1812, 4 August 1912, pp. 8-9; and N. N., "Futuristy", Voskresnaya vechernyaya gazeta

(St. Petersburg), No. 14, 26 August 1912, p. 4. There was also talk about Petersburg Futurists - e. g. I. Yasinskii, "Zhivopis' budushchago (O poyavlenie Peterburgskikh futuristov)" Rech' No. 13097, 18 August 1912 pp. 3-4.

21. See the declaration, signed by Burlyuk, Kruchenykh, Mayakovsky and Khlebnikov, Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu (Moscow 1913), pp. 3-4 and dated December 1912. See also Burlyuk's articles "Kubizm" and "Faktura", ibid. pp. 95-101 and 102-110 respectively.

22. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 11-12, and hand-written copy, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 7-8.

23. Ibid.

24. Lazarevskii, "Disput o kubizme", Vechernee vremya, No. 308, 21 November 1912, p. 3.

25. A. Rostislavov "Vecher Soyuza molodezhi", Rech' No. 322, 23 November, p. 5.

26. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 11.

27. He published this in "Faktura", Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu.

28. Larionov exhibited two still-lifes (from 1909-1910) that were marked as "major" and "minor" at his one-day exhibition on 8 December 1911. These musical terms may have been used to signify colour combinations based on primary and non-primary colours.

29. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 7-8.

30. A. Rostislavov, "O vecher khudozhestvenno-artisticheskaya assotsiatsiya", Rech' No. 343, 14 December 1912, p. 7.

31. See Lazarevskii, for example, "Disput o kubizme".

32. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 7.

33. Rostislavov, "Vecher Soyuza molodezhi".

34. Rostislavov, "O vecher assotsiatsiya".

35. Burlyuk talked of the broadening of man's visual sensation of nature in "Kubizm", Poschechina obshchestvennomu vkusu, p. 97.

36. A. Benois, "Kubizm ili kukishizm", Rech' No. 320, 23 November 1912, p. 3.

37. Concerning articles on Cubist painting published at this time, see Fry, Cubism, p. 178 and J. Golding, Cubism: A History and an Analysis 1907 - 1914 (London), 1988, p. 17. In March an article on

Cubism, sent from Paris, and which paid special attention to Gleizes' work, was published in St. Petersburg - E. Dmitriev, "Chto takoe kubizm" Birzhevye vedomosti No. 12834, 13 March 1912, p. 6.

38. See D. Gordon, Modern Art Exhibitions 1900-1916, vol. I (Munich) 1974, p. 87.

39. Concerning the separation of Picasso and Braque from the other Cubists, as well as Delaunay's development of Orphism, see Golding, Cubism: A History, pp. 9-21.

40. Rostislavov, "Vecher 'Soyuza molodezhi", and see Burlyuk, "Kubizm", op. cit.

41. A. Gleizes and J. Metzinger, Du Cubisme (Paris, 1912), pp. 9 and 17. Translated by Golding in Cubism: A History, p. 18.

42. See below, concerning Burlyuk's exhibits at the sixth Union of Youth show.

43. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 12.

44. Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 15.

45. See, for example, I. Yasinskii, "Veselaya vystavka" Birzhevye vedomosti, No. 13287, 7 December 1912, p. 5.

46. A. Benois, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" Rech' No. 350, 21 December 1912, p. 3.

47. Filonov spent the second half of 1912 travelling in Italy and France, having set off with 200 roubles gained from Zheverzheev's purchase of one of his Heads; Zel'manova may also have been in Europe since she appeared at the 1912 Paris Salon d'Automne for the first and only time; L'vov transferred to the New Society of Artists' exhibition (January 1913) with his Siberian landscapes.

48. See Russkaya molva No. 33, 13 January 1913, p. 6.

49. See Protiv techeniya No. 13, 19 January 1913 p. 4.

50. Benois "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi". Dmitrii Stelletskii (1875-1947), exhibited mainly with the New Society of Artists, Union of Artists and World of Art. His work, like that of Rerikh and Bilibin, was heavily influenced by the study of ancient Russian art.

Although Benois declined to specify which artists belong to which group, the styles of the majority can be identified (see main text). However, of the minor contributors, only the exhibits of Nadezhda Vladimirovna Lermontova, a student at the Zvantseva School, attracted attention. Participating with the Union of Youth for the first and only time, she showed two works (Workers and Study for a Portrait), that Benois described as "Cubist and classical". He also claimed that she had all that her daring

colleagues had "*plus pompier*" (ibid).

Baller's work (Self-study, Grapes at the Market and Harvest), given the artist's ability to switch styles dramatically, remain unclassifiable. Likewise, Dydyshko's Sketch for a Decorative Panel (Spain) and Mayakovsky's Portrait of Mrs. R. P. Kagan have been lost and no record of their form remains. Although Voinov's Portrait of A.P. Eisner was in plaster, nothing is known about its style or that of his other two contributions (Portrait and Sketch). Very little is known about Spandikov's five exhibits since they appeared untitled in the catalogue and unreviewed by the critics. One of the five was, however, reproduced in black and white in Ogonek and given the title Lady with Guitar (Plate 6.5). The schematic figure sits in the centre of the picture surrounded by a flowing mass of dematerialised colour.

51. Aleksandr A., "Soyuz molodezhi", Teatr (Petersburg), No. 106, 14 December 1912, p. 2. Elena Guro's friend Nadezhda Ivanovna Lyubavina, contributed two still-lifes to the exhibition. Still-Life with Flowers (Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-1413) shows a similar "love for Cézanne" as Nagubnikov.

52. B. Shuiskii, "Soyuz molodezhi" Den' No. 66, 7 December 1912, p. 5. The Ogonek critic ("Vystavka") added that one of the studies of Women (Potipaka contributed two, cat. 57-58) depicted the figure against a plain green background.

53. Benois, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

54. Aleksandr A., "Soyuz molodezhi".

55. Léger's Essay for Three Portraits (1911) and several other recent works were shown at the second Knave of Diamonds exhibition in Moscow, February 1912. See below, Footnote 94.

56. S. P-n. "Ne smeshnoe. Na vernissazhe vystavki Soyuza molodezhi", Den' No. 69, 10 December 1912 p. 5

57. The Union of Youth (No. 3), published the following March, not only featured Shkol'nik's and Rozanova's drawings together, but also announced that an almanac of their graphic work was to be published. This never occurred. However, from mid-1913 Rozanova began to illustrate Futurist booklets.

58. This work (oil on canvas, 113x139, Sverdlovsk Art Museum) is variously known as Portrait of A. Rozanova (Woman in a Pink Dres) and Lady in Conversation. Alevtina Vladimirovna Rozanova was the artist's sister.

59. Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 146.

60. Ibid. p. 147.

61. Matyushin, Unpublished Autobiography, 1920, TsGALI Fond 134, ed. khr. 2, l. 23.

62. Russian Museum, Inv. No. Sk-812 and Sk-815. See also TsGALI Fond 134, ed. khr. 2, l. 28 and 29. The TsGALI photographs were taken at the 1919 First State Free Exhibition of Works of Art.

63. Shuiskii, "Soyuz molodezhi" Den'.

64. Shuiskii, "Soyuz molodezhi" Protiv techeniya No. 8, 8 December 1912, p. 5.

65. Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-8324. This and the following work are unavailable for reproduction.

66. Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zhb-8309.

67. Concerning Matyushin's subsequently published theory of "SEE-KNOW" (Sight and cognition), in which vision could be extended first to 180°, then to 360°, see Alla Povelikhina "Matyushin's Spatial System", The Structurist (Saskatoon), Vol. 15-16, 1975-1976, pp. 64-71.

68. As mentioned above, the appearance of Mayakovsky's Portrait of Mrs. R. P. Kagan is not recorded.

69. J. Bowlt, trans. and ed., B. Livshits, One and a Half-Eyed Archer (Newtonville) 1977, p. 63.

70. Burlyuk had used similar but not identical titles for works shown at the beginning of the year in the Knave of Diamonds exhibition. This creates the possibility that Leit-Line, "Young Lady" and Landscape in 4-Dimensions were shown at both exhibitions, and were painted before his European trip.

71. See, for example, Yasinskii, "Veselaya vystavka".

72. Benois, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

73. A reproduction of the work appeared in Boris Mirskii, "Veselaya Vystavka" Sinii Zhurnal' No. 1, 4 January 1913, p. 7.

74. [anon. (Lazarevskii)] "Vystavka kartin soyuza molodezhi", Vechernee vremya, No. 320, 5 December 1912, p. 3. Concerning Lazarevskii's authorship of this article, see Vechernee vremya No. 325, 11 December 1912, p. 4.

75. In Russian - "Niz kartiny". See S. P-n. "Ne smeshnoe".

76. Lazarevskii, "Vystavka kartin soyuza molodezhi".

77. Mirskii, "Veselaya vystavka". See caricature reproduction (ibid.).

78. Ibid.

79. Benois, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

80. The painting is taken to be that given the title Landscape from 4 Points of View by Livshits (see Bowlt ed., One and a Half Eyed Archer, p. 47).

81. See I. Yasinskii "Veselaya vystavka".

82. Matyushin adds that the Burlyuks were given a back room and that Vladimir's Portrait of Livshits was hung in the worst place of all (Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 147).

83. Shuiskii, "Soyuz molodezhi" Den'.

84. See Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 147.

85. Ibid. p. 147.

86. S. P-n. "Ne smeshnoe".

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid. David Burlyuk had evidently talked about this in his Union of Youth lecture.

89. It is worth noting that Geotropism was created a year prior to the Union of Youth's show.

90. Bakhrushin Museum archive, cited from Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 39.

91. Benois, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi"; N. P. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Russkaya molva No. 2, 10 December 1912, p. 2; and Sergei Goloushev's review of Tatlin's Composition from Fishermen at the "Modern Painting" exhibition in Moscow S. Glagol' [Goloushev] "Kartinnyya vystavki" Stolichnaya molva No. 284, 2 January 1913, p. 3. See also Moskovskaya gazeta 27 December 1912, p. 2.

92. See Benois, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

93. See S. Glagol' [Goloushev], "Kartinnyya vystavki". Malevich distributed his work carefully between the two exhibitions - showing the development of his Neo-Primitivism at both. Thus at the Moscow show he displayed the earlier Mower, the stone baba-inspired Woman with Buckets and a Child, together with examples of his new style - Reaper, Harvest (now known as Taking in the Rye) and Head of a Peasant (the latter closely relating to his Portrait of Ivan Klyunkov - see below).

94. [anon.] "Bubnovyi valet" Stolichnaya molva No. 231, 27 February 1912 provides another possible, and intriguing, source for Malevich's development in 1912. It states that "a monograph about the Cubist painters and others, and reproductions of the pictures at the exhibition sold very briskly." The book referred to is hard to identify since neither Gleizes and Metzinger, Salmon, or Apollinaire, had yet published their books on Cubism in France.

Indeed, of these only Gleizes and Metzinger's book was written at this time.

95. This has occurred in, for example, E. Kovtun "The Beginning of Suprematism" Von der Fläche zum Raum (Exhibition Catalogue, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne) 1974, pp. 32-49; Kazimir Malewitsch (1878-1935) Werke aus sowietischen Sammlungen (exhibition catalogue) Dusseldorf 1980; J. Bowlt, "Malevich's journey into the non-objective world" Art News (New York) Vol. 72 part 10, December 1973 pp. 16-22; Kovtun "Kazimir Malevich" Art Journal Vol. 40-41 Fall 1981. The problem is discussed by Douglas "Malevich's Painting - Some Problems of Chronology", Soviet Union Vol. 5, part 2 1978, pp301-319; and in W. Beeren, J. Joosten (ed.) Kazimir Malevich (exhibition catalogue) Amsterdam 1989. However, even in the last publication the confusion persists: see D. Sarabianov "Kazimir Malevich and Hist Art 1900-1930" (p. 68) where the dating is curiously inaccurate.

96. Compare, for example, Morning in the Village after the Snowfall (see Chapter Eight).

97. Aleksandr A. "Soyuz molodezhi".

98. Ibid.

99. Delaunay's exhibition with Laurencin had opened on 28 February 1912 at the Galeries Barbazanges.

100. Shuiskii, "Soyuz molodezhi" Den'.

101. As with Malevich's work much confusion has recently existed over the first exhibiting of Larionov's Rayism (see Gray, The Russian Experiment; M. Dabrowski "The Formation and Development of Rayonism" Art Journal No. XXXIV, Spring 1975, pp. 200-207, for example). A study of the relevant exhibition catalogues, contemporary reviews and interviews with Larionov, reveals that Rayism only appeared after the Donkey's Tail exhibition.

At the World of Art exhibition Larionov also displayed Katsapka, a crude depiction of a hermaphrodite Venus. Tugendkhol'd, reviewing the following season's World of Art exhibition in Moscow made a point, concerning Larionov's and Goncharova's Rayist contributions, appropriate to the 1912 show: "... they play a role only of piquant contrast, accentuating the general Petersburg character of the exhibition. In the 'budushchnichestva' of the Muscovites there is essentially no less striving after effect than in the theatrical-retrospective inclinations of the Petersburgers." ("Mir Iskusstva v Moskve" Rech' No. 356, 30 December 1913, p. 5).

102. V. Mak. "Luchizm" Golos moskvy No. 237, 14 October 1912.

103. Ibid. The description of Cock and Hens fits with the Cock (Rayist study) (1912) in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (Inv. No. 10932). For reproduction see Paris-Moscou 1900-1930 (Paris), 1979, p. 121.

104. F.M. "Luchisty (v masterskoi Larionova i Goncharovoi)", Moskovskaya gazeta No. 231, 7 January 1913, p. 2.

105. Ibid.

106. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 2. These notes must date no later than February 1913.

107. Larionov "Luchistaya Zhivopis'" Oslinyi khvost i mishen. p. 97.

108. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 2.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE 1912-1913 SEASON II

THE UNION OF YOUTH DEBATES AND PUBLICATIONS OF EARLY 1913

Early 1913

The sixth Union of Youth exhibition, the first Russian show to be referred to in the press as a Futurist exhibition[1], closed on 10 January 1913. The same month a series of meetings took place that markedly changed the membership of the group. On 3 January a General Meeting was held.[2] The formal nomination of members (and committee members) was the central issue. Bubnova, Tatlin, Malevich, Morgunov, Burlyuk and Matyushin all became official members while Lermontova, Puni and Lyubavina were not selected. Such a procedure highlights an increased sense of direction and a certain criterium for aesthetic judgment. Although the reasons for the rejections are unknown, electing four relatively established Moscow artists as members was certainly an attempt to spread the Union of Youth's sphere of influence.

A new committee of the Union of Youth was elected at the General Meeting. Of those nominated Zel'manova, Nagubnikov, Filonov and Shleifer did not stand and after the election Markov, Spandikov and Dydyshko, all of whom had been chosen, declined their places, preferring instead to be associate committee members. This left Shkol'nik, Zheverzheev, Matyushin, Baller and Rozanova as committee members.[3] It was further decided to send Spandikov, Rozanova, Potipaka, Matyushin, Shkol'nik and Nagubnikov to Moscow. The main purpose of such a trip is made clear in the minutes of a second General Meeting held on 9 January.[4] These show that "the desirability of organising a meeting in Moscow of the artists of

Target[5], the Knave of Diamonds and the Union of Youth" was discussed and that the concensus opinion was that such a meeting was "extremely desirable". The Union of Youth's delegation was to leave two days later and the intended collaboration was even announced in the press.[6] But the unifying ambitions of the group did not cease with the Moscow groups. In the same announcement it was stated that once again "steps have already been made for an even broader union with Finnish and Swedish artists", with the intention of organising an exhibition of the new trends in Northern art.[7]

If the latter event ever took place, it never received acknowledgment in the Petersburg media. The co-operation with the Muscovites also seems to have foundered and fallen short of expectations. The trip to Moscow went ahead but the results were inconclusive. At first, both Larionov and Burlyuk agreed to participate in a Union of Youth debate at the end of February.[8] However, Larionov remained uncommitted about a joint exhibition. He had so many independent plans that a union was not only unnecessary but, as far as most of the Target group were concerned, also unwelcome. Furthermore, the "Union of Youth" representation at the Knave of Diamonds third exhibition, which opened on 7 February 1913, consisted solely of its new Moscow contingent i.e. Burlyuk, Tatlin, Malevich and Morgunov. Thus the Union of Youth failed in their objectives of bringing together the groups representing the modern trends in Russia.

During late January and early February the new committee was active in arranging debates, which, it was decided by 5 February[9],

would concentrate on two themes - new literature and new art. In addition, the group was concerned with the publication of the third number of The Union of Youth and Gleizes and Metzinger's Du Cubisme. All mention of exhibitions was dropped, although Dydyshko sought to establish a studio of the group where meetings could take place and exhibitions of individual members work be held. This plan remained unrealised.

Matyushin, editor of a second A Trap for Judges[10], succeeded in bringing Burlyuk and Larionov together on an artistic project for the last time. Larionov's worsening relations with Burlyuk, indicated in letters to Matyushin[11], prevented all future mutual collaboration with the Union of Youth. Early in February both were expected to appear at the group's debates, which were timetabled for 27 February and 1 March.[12] Thus, in an undated letter, presumably written in the second half of January, Larionov wrote to Matyushin from Moscow, about his participation in the evening dedicated to "New Russian Painting", without mentioning any disagreement with Burlyuk :

> Yesterday Mayakovsky was here and asked me to send either you or Shkol'nik the programme of my lecture about Rayism. Apparently this is necessary for the city governor. I'm sending you this programme. Read it and please be kind enough to pass it on to Shkol'nik. It is a synopsis. Everything that is mentioned here I'd like you to print in full on the poster. Thus the public can be better informed and anyway the more detailed the programme the more attractive it is. The slides for the lantern I'll send later with the others i.e. with Burlyuk and Mayakovsky, as they'll do as illustrations for the literary evening. Its very nice that A Trap for Judges will have a bigger format than before...[13]

However, at the 7 February opening of the Knave of Diamonds exhibition, both Burlyuk and his brother Vladimir appeared with

works whose pretentious titles bore open references to optics, multiple viewpoints and the "movement of light masses and coloured shifts". These had obvious Rayist connotations, so that Larionov would have been entitled to believe them a slap in his face. Indeed, the following day, quite possibly after having seen the exhibition or its catalogue, he wrote to Matyushin distancing himself from Burlyuk (and implicitly referring to the Moscow meeting of the artistic groups):

> Either I or someone else will read the lecture which I shall write in full and bring with me. There is no common ground between D.D. Burlyuk and me, and what D.D. has said will not be included, as Rayism is completely new and belongs to me alone at the moment. We can have a talk regarding the introduction but it seems to me it also contains no common ground with Burlyuk. Furthermore I should like to ask that my performance be ascribed to the last debate and at the end, so as to coincide with the order of developments and appearance of modern trends in art.[14]

This desire to distinguish himself from Burlyuk was undoubtedly a factor in Larionov's eventual non-participation in the debate. However, in mid-February he was still expected to appear and even after the debates were postponed until 23 and 24 March, Shkol'nik travelled to Moscow[15] and apparently obtained his agreement to participate.[16] Yet in an undated letter to Matyushin (presumably written around the end of February) Larionov excused himself from the debate:

> David Davidovich [Burlyuk] has told me that your debates have been postponed four weeks - I'll probably be in Moscow at that time as I expect to go to the south... In Moscow two debates are proposed with my participation, but I doubt that I'll appear - as I'm sick of all this, especially after the chewed straw of the Knave of Diamonds.[17]

In the event Larionov was in Moscow and did participate in the Target debate on 23 March, the same day as the Union of Youth's

"Modern Painting" debate.[18] The Target evening was entitled "The East, National Character and the West", and besides gaining the reading of Larionov's lecture on Rayism from the Union of Youth, included talks from Ilya Zdanevich on "Marinetti's Futurism" and Shevchenko on "Russian National Art".[19]

At this time Larionov was busy organising an exhibition of lubki, which opened in the second half of February, and Target's exhibition which was set to open on 24 March. After the postponement of the Union of Youth debate, Larionov's patience with the group seems to have snapped, and at last he began to adopt the policy of non-cooperation encouraged earlier by members of Donkey's Tail. He wrote to Le-Dantyu, who was still living in Petersburg, expressing a dramatic change of mind and new attitude towards the Petersburg group:

> I have declined from the debate and the lecture on Rayism, but I most humbly implore you to be at the debate and if discussion of this arises then let them at first talk about Rayism and then correct them as you see fitting. Tell Ilya Mikhailovich [Zdanevich]. He knows almost everything about Rayism, as I've explained it to him, and he can brilliantly formulate some idea... I shall never read my lecture for them. And hereby declare war. I most humbly ask you to start the action at the first Union of Youth debate.[20]

True to his word, Larionov never participated with the Union of Youth again - neither in debates or exhibitions, the letter signalling his final break with the group. It is not known whether Le-Dantyu was present at the Union of Youth debate, since Rayism is not mentioned in the reports, suggesting that it was not discussed. However, soon afterwards Zdanevich was able to speak up for Larionov, and against the "feeble attempts [at Futurism] of our home-grown Futurists, the authors of A Slap in the Face of Public

Taste and the organisers of the recent debates in the Troitskii Theatre" during his lecture "On Futurism".[21] This event, held on 7 April and organised by the Arts Association, was also supposed to be a debate but was banned as such by the police. Other proposed speakers are unknown. Although Larionov did not appear, the lantern slides he had previously promised the Union of Youth (including work by himself, Goncharova, Boccioni and Picasso), were shown.

Larionov's break with the Union of Youth was put far more diplomatically in a letter to Shkol'nik, where he also declines from contributing to the fourth edition of The Union of Youth, and outlines the separate plans of his group. No war is declared[22] and no final break is intimated. Even so, Larionov's coolness towards any future co-operation is unmistakable and the divergence of paths henceforth, made clear. The letter, presumably written around the end of March, represents the last real contact between Larionov and the Union of Youth. It suggests the reasons for Larionov's sudden break with the group. As a declaration of intent, the letter is crucial to understanding the subsequent development of Larionov's group away from the Union of Youth. Until 1913 Larionov had enjoyed the use of the exhibition platform the Union of Youth had given both him and his group. In March 1913, with new financial backing, Larionov no longer needed that platform. As already stated, the collaboration of the groups was based as much on economic necessity as on mutual respect, and with Larionov's newly found "Persian prince" (see below), the ties could be broken. This independence, brought about by Larionov's championing not only of

Russia but the East in general, though still reliant on sponsorship, meant that he could free himself totally of the other Russian groups. It did not mean, however, that he suddenly sought confrontation with the Union of Youth, as he led the more uncompromising Le-Dantyu to believe. Indeed, as the letter shows, he desired to remain on friendly terms with its members:

> With regard to the drawings for the Union of Youth almanac I must inform you of the following - we are publishing a very extensive almanac Donkey's Tail and Target, where all the material about the artistic and literary activities of Petersburg in the last two years will be included - literature of young poets still unknown to you, Persian, Georgian and Armenian Rayists and Futurists; about another ten booklets with illustrations are also coming out. In view of the publication of our almanac with my illustrations, at the moment there is no possibility of participating in your fourth journal. Moreover we have been commissioned by the publishers and the whole group unanimously decided only to issue our own almanac and books.
>
> With regard to the Knave my advice is to spit on them and not to write anything to them, not to speak to them and not to respond to them.
>
> With regard to your exhibition in Moscow. I don't know how well off you are at the moment, but if you've got money, and indeed you have after the debates, then it wouldn't be bad to organise an exhibition in Moscow. It's true that there are up to thirty exhibitions in Moscow every year and three special exhibition halls. Our group is organising at least three exhibitions in the next year. There will be no outlay as I've already paid for them - the first will be in the autumn and will be exclusively Rayist painting. The second will be together with the Eastern artists and both will be in Petersburg as well. Our sponsor is not interested in money but only the practice in life of the principles proposed by us. We renounce the West and only together with Eastern artists create and establish our ideas - our sponsor is a Persian prince who received his education in the Paris "Majlis Sultany". The third of our exhibitions will only be in Moscow. This is an exhibition of Pneumo-Rayism. For Petersburg with its red-tape and immobility this is too incomprehensible.
>
> Send back my books as quickly as you can. We are selling them at twice the indicated price. Antique Love, where there are two of my drawings, sells at a rouble per copy.
>
> For the present I shake your hand. Give my regards to Levkii Ivanovich [Zheverzheev] and the members of the Union. From Natalya Sergeevna too.
> M. Larionov.[23]

Burlyuk appeared at both Knave of Diamonds debates of 1913 (7 and 24 February), creating a scandal in the first by his uncompromising condemnation of Repin's Ivan the Terrible which had recently been damaged by a vandal. At the second, he spoke on his familiar theme of "New Art in Russia and the Art Critics' Attitude towards It".[24] On this occasion it was left to Mayakovsky to provoke the scandal with his demands "to blow up all museums with dynamite".[25] Apparently he referred to himself an "Ego-Futurist", perhaps having been inspired by Severyanin's declamatory appearance at the Arts Association's debate on 10 December 1912.[26] Mayakovsky's Futurist pretensions appear more radical than Burlyuk's, for on 25 February Burlyuk published an article in which he called for the establishment of a national museum of "cottage arts", where special place would be given to traditional, provincial signboards, and where "the charm of the national (and not international) folk spirit will live".[27] However, Mayakovsky, who was critical of the conservative tendency in the Knave of Diamonds, seems to have influenced Burlyuk, for the Burlyuk brothers both withdrew contributions from its exhibition due to open in Petersburg on 3 April, and did not participate with the group again until 1916.

"The Public Debate On Modern Painting", Troitskii Miniature Theatre, St. Petersburg, 23 March 1913.

The timing of the two Union of Youth debates coincided with the publication of the third issue of The Union of Youth[28], and of the group's Credo, as well as with the official association with the newly formed literary group Hylaea.

David Burlyuk had originally intended to talk on "Painterly Counterpoint"[29] at the Union of Youth's first debate, but this was subsequently altered to "The Art of Innovators and Academic Art in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century" (see the poster, Plate 7.1). This brought it closer to the talks he had given at the Knave of Diamonds debates in February. Shkol'nik's visit to Moscow around 6 March resulted eventually in Malevich replacing Larionov. Malevich gave his own talk and read "The Report of the Group of Russian Futurists". It was the latter, together with the reading of the Union of Youth's newly written Credo, which opened proceedings, and which, as it is now clear, held most significance.

Neither Burlyuk, nor Malevich appeared as representatives of the Union of Youth, despite the fact that they had both recently joined the group. As such, the opinions they voiced were not necessarily those of the Union of Youth. At the Union of Youth's committee meeting of 4 March the question of members participation in such evenings had been discussed. It was resolved that it was "highly desirable and indeed necessary"[30] that they took part in the discussions.

Burlyuk's lecture, delivered after the Credo and Malevich's talk, was, despite the details of the programme, a disconnected and

unoriginal berating of Repin's Ivan the Terrible.[31] Much of his argument was taken up with the faults of the painting from the academic point of view. He highlighted the latter in an attempt to show Repin's unworthiness, even as a realist. His words[32] about the recent trends in art seem to have been limited to wrathful denouncements of the critics, and once again Burlyuk could not escape his obsessive haranguing of Benois. This left the explanation of the latest artistic innovations apparently unelaborated and vague, despite the listing of their representatives in the lecture programme.[33]

Malevich's appearance at the debate was more controversial and more provocative than Burlyuk's, not least because he was now a member both of Target[34] and the Union of Youth. Indeed, despite a new divergence in their paths, in some respects Malevich seems to have acted as Larionov's envoy. He grasped the opportunity, with new confidence in his own creative ideas, to make a public appearance as a speaker for the first time.[35] In fact, he sought to investigate the state of modern art in Russia, as if he had taken over the latter part of Burlyuk's lecture programme and given it his own interpretation. Speaking hurriedly, he tried to characterise the Knave of Diamonds as the offspring of Cézanne and Gauguin, and to promote the Donkey's Tail, which he recognised had now turned into Target, as the followers of national aims.

Although the full extent of Malevich's declamatory statements issued under the title of "The Report of the group of Russian Futurists" is not known, the following points have been recorded:

> Art cannot travel in gigs it must rush along in cars!...
> Our dim-headed press is reminiscent of stupid firemen who put

> out the fire of everything that is new and unknown. At the head of these firemen stands their talentless chief, Repin... Old art consists totally of talentlessness. Take for example Serov, the talentless master, who has immortalised the talentless face of voiceless bawler Chalyapin.[36]

While these hardly amount to a positive programme for the future of art and served primarily to whip up feeling among the audience (the ensuing noise, threatened to have the evening closed down), they at least indicate that Malevich was now ready to speak out against the establishment using essentially Futurist rhetoric. Thus, four years after the literary manifesto of the Italian Futurists had been published in Russia, a group of Russian painters, through Malevich, announced that they too were Futurists.[37]

The Union of Youth's Credo[38]

The Union of Youth's Credo, read by "a tall, dishevelled Futurist with a long, uncovered neck and in an expressionless voice"[39], was less specific in its attacks than Malevich's speech, but similarly energetic in its defence of the new. As the first concrete statement of policy by the group since Markov's "Russian Secession" three years earlier, it bears comparison with that previous declaration. It also has clear associations with Markov's "The Principles of the New Art" and with Rozanova's "The Bases of the New Creative Work and the Reasons for it not being Understood".[40]

Rather than echoing the spirit of the Italian Futurist proclamations published in The Union of Youth, the Credo, announced as an "artistic battle Credo"[41], more closely resembles the epithets of challenge contained in the original "Manifesto of the

Futurist Painters", published as a leaflet in Milan in February 1910. However, unlike the Italians (whose painting lagged behind their declamations), the Union of Youth's leaflet disclosed that it considered the group's "technical Credo" already established by its exhibitions and theoretical works. In this respect it is largely complementary to Markov's "Russian Secession", which, despite its polemical elements, consisted mainly of reasoned argument for the freeing of art from imitation of observable nature. In the Credo, argument is replaced by unsupported declarations of protest. Inevitably these concentrate on the Russian art establishment and critics. Significantly, considering Larionov's advice "to spit on them"[42], the Knave of Diamonds is also criticised for being lulled by the "stuffy... atmosphere" of "that general dormitory in which the Wanderers, the World of Art and the Union of Russian Artists heavily slumber".[43] Such criticism seems to refute the purpose of the earlier approaches made by the Union of Youth to the Knave of Diamonds. And despite a common terminology, even Kul'bin did not escape some slight, though he remained unnamed: "We declare war on all the imprisoners of the Free Art of Painting, who shackle it in the chains of daily life: politics, literature and the nightmare of psychological effects."[44]

It is this declamatory tone of protest that most strikingly recalls the first "Manifesto of the Futurist Painters" (1910), albeit in milder language:

> We declare that the painter may speak only the language of painterly creative experience...
> We declare war on all self-loving Narcissi who cultivate the sentimentality of personal experiences and for whom nothing is dear besides their own, constantly reflected, face...
> We declare war on the Corner Creation of the World of Art, who

> look at the world through one window...
> That free creativity is the first condition of Originality!
> From this it follows that in Art there are many paths!...
> This is our slogan: "In continuous renewal is the Future of Art"...
> There is no honour for us to turn to a... ridiculous spectre of the past, to the fruitless invention of that which has already ceased to be!...[45]

This can be compared with the Italians claims to:

> 1. Destroy the cult of the past, the obsession with the ancients, pedantry and academic formalism...
> 2. Totally invalidate all kinds of imitation.
> 3. Elevate all attempts at originality, however daring, however violent...
> 5. Regard all art critics as useless...[46]

Despite similar demands for continual renewal[47], there are differences between the Russians and Italians in their attitude to the every-day, and this hints at the more mystical approach (inherited from symbolism), that gave Russian Futurism its peculiar identity. In contrast to the Russians' dismissal of routine daily life, the Italians "Support and glory in our everday world, a world which is going to be continually and splendidly transformed by victorious Science."[48] Indeed, as if underlining their independence from the Italians, the Russians proclaimed: "We despise the word "Glory", that reduces the artist to a stupid animal who obstinately refuses to step forward even when he is driven by the whip."[49]

It is also worth comparing Target's principles, published in their exhibition catalogue, at the same time as the Union of Youth's Credo. Written by Larionov, the points made, while in part agreeing with those of the Union of Youth, also act as a counterpoint. Thus, the Union of Youth declared that it was intent on retaining its previous forms of public appearance, describing

them as a "practical path" which "in the future will broaden and deepen... more and more"[50], and Larionov viewed his group's appearances as developmental, that "each exhibition has advanced new artistic problems".[51] Similarly, Larionov sought to exhibit work of artists "not belonging to some defined direction and creating, for the most part, works distinct from the manifestation of their personalities".[52] This echoes the Union of Youth's protest against the Narcissus cult in painting and their acceptance of all new paths to the new.

However, Larionov was closer to Markov's previous statements than the Credo, in that he did not reject the past so catagorically, nor condemn imitation. Thus he recognised "a copy as an independent work of art" and "all styles which have gone before us", and announced that Target "proclaims every possible combination and merging of styles".[53] Such sentiments resemble Markov's idea in "The Principles of the New Art" where he calls even the freest art plagiarism and cites the Chinese value of imitation and free copying. Like Markov, Larionov develops his principles in support of the East and in opposition to the West, and this contrasts with the Union of Youth's Credo, which fails to differentiate.

While Larionov regarded the Union of Youth, like all art societies, inevitably doomed "only to stagnation"[54], his relations with Markov continued to be marked by a different attitude, since as late as January 1913, Markov was considered a participant in "Target".[55] However, where Larionov went further than both Markov and the Union of Youth's Credo was in the universal character of

painting: "We consider that the whole world can be expressed completely in painterly forms - life, poetry, music, philosophy etc."[56] In this, the gestation of his new theory of "everythingism" is apparent.

The publication of the Union of Youth's Credo in such a proclamatory form could not have been envisaged even a year previously. Its disrespect for all past art announced a new vitriolic attitude. This new assertiveness may well have derived from an awareness of the dynamic developments in Western Europe. The Union of Youth now considered themselves the Russian representatives of Futurism, although they stopped short of attaching any such label to themselves, perhaps fearing the inevitable limitations that a label implies.

"The Public Debate on New Russian Literature". Troitskii Miniature Theatre, St. Petersburg, 24 March 1913

The Public Debate on Modern Painting had ended with a discussion about the way ahead for new art in which Baller, Red'ko and Burlyuk took part. While Baller reiterated sentiments about the fall of the old Apollo expressed in the new issue of The Union of Youth (see below), Burlyuk admitted that new art was heading for the abyss in which old art already sat, and confounded this apocalypsism with a final "worn phrase about the burning fire of "eternal truth and eternal beauty"".[57] Their statements were interspersed by Kruchenykh's surprisingly "conciliatory and explanatory"[58] remarks about the significance of Cubism and the declamations of "a Futurist from the Don", who read his twelve

syllable poem in which he demonstrated his "theory" of the reduction of whole phrases to single words:

"Ba, ba-ba, ba-ba,

Goden buba, buba, ba!"[59]

The participation of Kruchenykh and "the Futurist from the Don" highlights an overlap with the debate on new Russian literature, which occurred the following day. This relationship between the arts, was simultaneously demonstrated by Hylaea's participation in the Union of Youth's third journal.

On 17 February David Burlyuk had written to Matyushin recommending the "absolutely vital"[60] participation of Kruchenykh in the literature debate then set for 27 February. However, Kruchenykh's name does not appear as one of the speakers on the outline programme for the debate after it was first postponed until 1 March.[61] In this programme Nikolai and David Burlyuk and Mayakovsky are given as lecturers in the first section of the evening. The second part was to be devoted to poetry and prose readings from the latest almanacs of the modernist literatti, including: Livshits' "People in a Landscape"[62], Nikolai Burlyuk's "Lady Rider"[63], Kandinsky's "To See"[64], Nizen's "Spots"[65], Guro's "Newspaper Notice"[66] and various poems by David Burlyuk, Mayakovsky, Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov.

With the further postponement of the debate, the programme changed and when it was eventually published the whole of the second section was omitted in favour of Kruchenykh's lecture "The Unmasking of the New Art".[67] By this time the Union of Youth had concluded their formal alliance with Hylaea, accepting, at the

committee meeting of 6 March, its autonomous participation in Union of Youth activities.[68] It was thus, and largely through the energetic intermediary work of Matyushin, that Nikolai and David Burlyuk, Livshits, Kruchenykh, Khlebnikov and Guro, who had just gone to press with the second A Trap for Judges, were published in The Union of Youth (No. 3).

The lectures of the 24 March turned into an espousal of the principles of the latest literature, reminiscent of the proclamations made in A Slap in the Face of Public Taste and A Trap for Judges.[69] The recital of the poetry and prose was reduced. Nikolai Burlyuk's lecture, "Fairy Tale - Myth", looked at the characteristics of the fairy tale as the use of the word to its highest degree. His structural approach included an examination of fairy tales' use of sounds in speech rather than words; their themes of incarnation and immortality; and aesthetic values that deny reason - "as a victory over logic".[70]

Mayakovsky's lecture, "The One that Came by Himself", continued the new concentration on the function and character of the word devoid of such extraneous conditions, such as "content... language (literary and academic)... rhythm (musical and conventional)... metre... syntax... etymology."[71] As Burlyuk and Malevich in the debate on painting, Mayakovsky denounced all that had gone before: "Our poetry has no precursors".[72] He talked about the "rebirth of the true role of the word"[73], looked at Cubism and Futurism in the word and his group's relations to the Ego-Futurists (with whom he no longer associated himself), and critics. Mayakovsky did not hide his Futurism: "From Sologub the grave-

digger, from Andreev the father of suicide, we call you to modernity. To live in the turbulent life of the city, of screeching rails, to melt in the breath of the fields, to jump, to laugh."[74] His words most closely resemble the declaration of A Slap in the Face of Public Taste and continue his November argument, in which he had concentrated on the essence of words, demanding a "rebirth of the original role of the word" and comparing the Futurists' use with that of myth.[75]

The search for essence through the concentration on primary formal elements, which has clear foundations in the approach of Neo-Primitivism and symbolism, has obvious parallels with the painterly demands of the artists. This is further in evidence in David Burlyuk's lecture "The Graphic Elements of Russian Phonetics", which was based on the principles outlined in the new A Trap for Judges. Burlyuk, now a painter-poet, announced that the modern poets had:

> ... shaken loose the syntax of Russian speech... have begun to impart content to words according to their written form and phonetic traits... forgotten about spelling to please the occasion... destroyed punctuation marks... We describe nouns by all parts of speech.[76]

While the above are undeniably inherited from Marinetti's "Technical Manifesto of Literature" (May 1912)[77], Burlyuk goes further than Marinetti in his search for the formal properties of the word. The leader of the Italian Futurists had called for free words - which necessarily involved the destruction of syntax and the suppression of adjectives, verbs and punctuation. But Marinetti had used analogy as associative imagery, retaining an overtly symbolic content for the word. Burlyuk on the other hand

searches within words, and with neologisms, for their attributes - creating a theory about the function of vowels and consonants and emphasising the visual appearance of letters. He proclaimed that consonants are the "bearers of colour and the notions of faktura", while vowels represent "time, space and the motion of the plane".[78] This expressiveness of individual letters took further Marinetti's idea about the "naked" purity and "essential colour" of nouns, which, when used in analogy chains, were able to "embrace the life of matter".[79]

Burlyuk's conceptual approach was illustrated by examples of 'descriptive' and 'graphic' poetry, as well as by Kruchenykh's "The Unmasking of the New Art". The latter apparently consisted of non-sequential, neologistic aphorisms (e.g. "In the Cage and behind the Cage", "The World from the End or the End without the World", "Transcendental Irony or the Metaphysics of the Pot"[80]). Such a reduction of poetry and prose to their formal elements, with its rejection of the constructive nature of European rationalism and its emphasis on individual essential components, can be related to Markov's "Principles", where the search within for the pure "swans of other worlds" was applied to both painting and poetry. Furthermore, the quest for the true nature of existence through new art also recalls Kandinsky's theory about the nature of painting as "the combination of coloured tones determined by inner necessity".[81] This highlights the coincidence of the theories and ideals of the new Russian poets (as enunciated at the Union of Youth debate), and the new technical approaches and aspirations of the painters - announced simultaneously by Rozanova (see below).

For both poets and painters the process of making the object that is their art has become central to their art, rather than observation of the surrounding world.

The debate on modern Russian literature was not only a theoretical affair. For during Kruchenykh's 'lecture', the speaker, together with Nikolai Burlyuk and Mayakovsky, donned human masks with humorous, tragical and evil faces. They announced, one after the other: "Trepetva", "Dyshva", "Pomirva", "Pleshchva"[82], congratulated each other and themselves most of all, and left the stage. With the introduction of this element of farce, comedy and grotesque, involving the combination of the visual and verbal arts, Kruchenykh presaged the Futurist opera, Victory over the Sun, which he was to write in collaboration with Matyushin, Malevich and Khlebnikov, and which the Union of Youth were to stage at the end of the year.

Despite a rowdiness at the literature debate, it was less scandalous than earlier, similar occasions. Of the opponents, only Vasilisk Gnedov[83] seems to have taken the Futurists seriously enough to shout his disbelief in them and proclaim himself, and two other Petersburg poets associated with the Ego-Futurists, Shirikov and Ignat'ev, as the poets of modern Russia. The furthest extreme seems to have been that of an anonymous "Rondist" with a grey beard, who cried: "I too shall found my own school of Rondists, of round dolts and round idiots. I shall not paint with paints but with street dirt, not with a brush but with my open palm. I shall compose my own alphabet. I shall not speak but moo like a cow: "Mur, kur, pur" - this is my new poem."[84] Whether this was said by

one of Burlyuk's troupe or one of their mockers is uncertain. In either case, it points, through its allusions to crude and primaeval technique, to the avant-garde's attempts to find a new and essentially pure form of art - where the burden of traditional extraneous factors which usually corrupt the work of art (such as empathy and experience) is, if not totally negated, transformed. Thus the Futurist literatti became more radical than Markov who felt such a denial, however desirable, impossible to achieve due to the irrepressibility of the complex psyche and personality in art.

The Union of Youth No. 3 Published 22 March 1913

The third issue of The Union of Youth was the last to be published.[85] It was also the most assertive of the group's publications. In contrast to the second issue, all the contributions were by Union of Youth or Hylaea members. Only Matyushin paraphrased, edited and interpreted a previously published text (Gleizes and Metzinger's Du Cubisme). The other five articles, by Baller, Rozanova, Nikolai Burlyuk and Spandikov, were original. The illustrations were by Shkol'nik and Rozanova. Baller and Matyushin alone discussed developments in Europe and both firmly related these to the situation in Russia. Most revealing with regard to the latest developments, was Rozanova's article on the principles of the new art and her parallel illustrations. These revealed a new interpretation of Cubism and Futurism, not seen in the work she had displayed at the Union of Youth's recent exhibition. The accompanying prose and poetry by six Hylaea poets (Mayakovsky was conspicuously absent) showed, like the articles and graphic work, a limited variety of modernist trends - from impressionism and symbolism to Futurism.

The question of the publication of Nizen's translation of Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme, which had been edited by Matyushin, had arisen almost as soon as the latter had rejoined the Union of Youth at the beginning of January.[86] On 8 March it was decided to include a study of Du Cubisme by Matyushin, rather than the translation, in The Union of Youth.[87] Just four days earlier the other articles for publication had been read to the committee and accepted for entry into the journal.[88] Thus, together with the

inclusion of work by the Hylaea poets, the journal's final form was hurriedly agreed. Despite this haste, a surprisingly unified sense of direction is evident in the third issue.

Matyushin probably first met Mayakovsky and Kruchenykh around the end of November 1912 when preparations were under way for the Union of Youth's autumn debate and sixth exhibition.[89] Immediately an alliance had sprung up with the first result being the second A Trap for Judges almanac, published by Matyushin's independent press, "The Crane", in the first week of March 1913. The alliance gained the name Hylaea, which in turn united with the Union of Youth. The foreword to The Union of Youth (No. 3), a statement by Hylaea, the "autonomous poetry section" of the Union of Youth, propounded its principles and reasons for unification.[90] Coincidentally it stated the current position of the Union of Youth.

In "The Russian Secession" Markov had declared that "We search only for beauty" and hinted at the problems involved in finding and manifesting it.[91] Burlyuk repeated the sentiment at the end of his lecture at the painting debate on 23 March, demanding "eternal truth and eternal beauty".[92] The declaration by Hylaea continued this attitude, advising that it was not to be found in "automatism" or "the temporary" and that it was seeking a "definition of the philosophy of the beautiful".[93] Hylaea, like Markov, acknowledged the difficulty of dealing with beauty, recognising that it could be appreciated "beyond the bounds of consciousness" and allowing that enquiry into the nature of human cognition could provide the grounds for such an appreciation.[94] Such an expansion of human

perception had only been implicit in Markov's "The Principles of the New Art", where the author recognised that inner work could produce the most important results concerning the reflection of divine beauty.

Avgust Baller's two small articles, "The Everyday Apollo and the Black Apollo"[95] and "On the Chromotherapy Already Taken"[96], outlined his view about the evolution of art. "The Everyday Apollo" looks at the constructive nature of art since the Greeks. Baller concludes, like Worringer, that the spreading of the Hellenic ideals has undermined the art and culture of other civilizations and that its rationalised base is as worthless as the "hopeless phosphates" given to the old and sick. He points out that these phosphates and salts end up drinking the sick and are joined in doing so by the trees in the cemetary. Bakst's work Terror Antiquus, the journal Apollo, Golovin's designs for the production of Elektra, are all criticised by Baller for being touched by the contagious spirit of Apollo. Yet in the last "twenty or thirty years" Apollo has been "beaten by sharp blows on the head" and is "surgically wounded".[97] The wounds have been inflicted by the Fauves, the Cubists and the Futurists. The old Apollo "cracks and falls" and a new one is born with "curved legs", colour reminiscent of the "Nubian night and French polish, and a head of steel-bronze" which the "future Futurists will not break through".[98]

Clearly, Baller's argument coincides with the current thinking among members of the Union of Youth (e.g. Burlyuk and Markov), that

the modern artists are creating a new era and a new dimension for art, in which the discovered beauty is essential and eternal. His support for the modern, with references to its inheritance of technical principles from African art, goes little beyond being a statement of rejection of the Greek inheritance. He welcomes its downfall but does not stipulate the means by which it is to be replaced or with what purpose.

"On the Chromotherapy Already Taken" takes the rejection of "The Everyday Apollo" further, briefly examining, by means of medical analogy, the steps already taken in rejection of academic laws.[99] The medicine taken to rid the artist of his academic illness is traced back over fifty years to the emergence of Impressionism. The prescription was "more sun, light and air". This gradually changed "from light to colour" and with that arrived "the chromotherapy" evident from the "impressionable Monet to the Fauve Matisse". But while this therapy healed many, it also ran its course. Thus Baller was able to accuse Petrov-Vodkin's Red Horse of being a "red anachronism"[100] and Gauguin's colourism of being passé. All this had been replaced by Picasso, who had "originated from Spain and as you know the Moors came to Spain. They came from Africa... Oh the great black gods of the Nubia!"[101] Baller went no further in his explication of Picasso's principles but his recognition of the artist as the leader of modern art clearly states his position *vis-à-vis* the modern trends. Furthermore, his reiteration of support for the use of African creative principles in modern art again coincides with Markov, who was researching into African art.

Spandikov's article, "The Labyrinth of Art"[102], consisted of short symbolistic aphorisms on art. "The tangled strands of creativity" are encountered by inner searching. Only in this limited way can eternity be sensed and its mystery slightly unravelled. The way forward is to "move away from space time to find the number"[103] - as if Spandikov is calling for the artist to abandon the magnitudes of the fourth dimension for the more abstract notion of mathematical space, in order to more realistically sense the eternal. He predicts a new era for art - "a wave of art that will unsparingly spill over everyone and everything and will ruthlessly break up many creations and human lives". The coming of the new art is apocalyptic, as in so many predictions of the Russian modernists:

> a new, bright life radiates and other spirits, other beauties are made to shine and sound in peoples' chords... drops of poison burst out laughing and tears of the stars have fallen into the rainbow... red and yellow threads have struggled with blue and green... it was so hot and cold that a ray, piercing the earth, smiled at the moon... a rocket of flesh struck against the sky and broke into myriads of radiant, sparkling lines...[104]

Spandikov's vision of art, with its preponderance of fantastic visual imagery, is based on a complete upheaval of established norms and although he refrains from introducing any technical or formal directives, it is evidently in keeping with both Markov's and Kul'bin's concerns. Where Spandikov goes further is in his description of the sensation of the eternal, the essential universal beauty. Markov and Kul'bin described methods to sense the eternal in art but they did not describe that sensation in their essays. Spandikov bridges this gap with a compilation of

images that recalls the effects of hallucinogenic drugs (in this it may be related to the evocative chaotic order of Filonov's Heads), and the vivid visual effects of Larionov's Rayist canvases.

By way of contrast with Spandikov, Nikolai Burlyuk's article, "Vladimir Davidovich Burlyuk"[105], tries to give his brother's painting, and that of the Russian "Cubists" in general, a scientific basis. He starts from the premise that art is created from "reflectiveness and advocacy of the materialization of ideas".[106] The combination of the painting and its creator, as embodied in the work, is regarded as the essence of art, and of Vladimir Burlyuk's art in particular. As such, every work links the local and temporary (i.e. the person) with the ideal permanent. This urge to abstraction subjected art to definite laws. Beauty, instead of responding to some individual psychological demands, is "now confined to the creation of certain permanent systems of plane geometry".[107]

According to Nikolai, Vladimir Burlyuk looked at plane combinations in two, three and curved dimensions. His representation of constructions in nature in two dimensions required renunciation of knowledge of the third dimension and hence the flatness of some works. He determined to show through visual expression the dynamics and/or material of a section of space time. Thus the lines and surfaces depicted on the canvas could be distinguished as temporal, spatial and interactive. A canvas could thereby be given direction, weight, instability or equilibrium and was no longer reliant on the singularly subjective visual sense.

Such abstract qualities had been reflected in Heliotropism and Geotropism. Colour thereby became identified with energy and "with every work of art we find new relations between the person and the world". This allows for the lack of movement around an object in Burlyuk's art and his denial of volume - there is no interpenetration of his facetted planes, only a superficial interaction. This structural simplicity and geometry coincides with Worringer's notion of abstraction.[108]

Burlyuk's painting, his brother claimed, sought to embody his personality in relation to the fundamental abstract qualities of existence. In trying to depict movement, for example, in time and space, the artist involved himself with the fourth dimension. However, Burlyuk made no claims about the necessity of a higher consciousness for the perception of the fourth dimension and did not enter into any metaphysical argument whatsoever. His claim that such notions could be depicted, neglected all mention of the means of their perception or the decisions involved in the embodiment of a non-material quality in a material media. Such matters were taken for granted by the appearance of the work itself. It remained for Matyushin and Rozanova to enter into the argument for a higher consciousness.

Olga Rozanova, "The Bases of the New Creative Work and the Reasons for It not being understood"[109]

Rozanova's article synthesises the preceeding essays, together with ideas from Markov, Kul'bin and the Union of Youth's Credo. To these she adds a reasoned technical approach for the creation of

new works of art and this distinguishes the article from those of her colleagues. Even so, much of the article is taken up with attacks on the establishment in general, and on Benois in particular. This is done in the defence of a "new creative world view" which included the Burlyuks' "titles of paintings expressed in technical language (leit-line, colour instrumentation etc.)".[110] Rozanova claimed that the public needed awakening from its slumbers[111], and especially from the conception of beauty based on copies of nature and terms of "Familiar and Intelligible".[112] The critics and "pseudo-artists" who "depreciate its [new art's] significance", only confound the problem by their failure to analyse the meaning of the new art.[113]

While asserting that a transient epoch was only that of "Senility and Imitation", Rozanova admitted that each new era, which works out a new code of artistic practice in part reliant on cultivated experience, inevitably experiences in the course of time a "slackening in creative energy".[114] This clearly allies with the call in the Credo for "continual renewal" in art and recalls Spandikov's likening of culture ("the spirit of nations") to a flower hovering over the universe and scattering its petals at different times and in different "secret corners".[115] It can also be associated with Markov's observations about the imposition of external factors on the creative process. When an era seeks to cultivate the codes of a previous era, artistic technique is developed to "an improbable level of refinement which is reduced to a cold prestidigitation of the paintbrush".[116]

Having criticised the "Corner creative work" of the World of

Art and Union of Russian Artists[117], as in the Credo, Rozanova then follows Baller in her evocation of the means, since the Impressionists, to overcome the reliance on the visible in art and to instigate problems of a purely painterly nature. She outlines the process of modern art as "a series of independent theses" from the Impressionists' "stipulation of an atmosphere of air and light in a painting, and colour analysis" through Van Gogh's and Cézanne's experiments to those of the Futurists and Cubists. She concludes with a call for "eternal renewal" in art.[118] This coincides with Uspenskii's suggestion that forms of consciousness and the means of their expression, continually evolve and that as a result "besides forms already known to us new forms must arise."[119] Rozanova reiterates her objection to the "continual rehashing" and "laziness" of the "art critics and veterans of the old art" who trade on their "immutable face".[120] Her criticisms add little that is new to the position of the avant-garde in Petersburg. They do, however, voice the argument against the avant-garde's opponents with a forceful cogency and reason that is only paralleled in Markov's work.

The most remarkable qualities of Rozanova's article lay in her original exposition of the principles of the new art. She begins with a description of the function of painting that is very close to that outlined by Burlyuk:

> The art of Painting is the decomposition of nature's ready-made images into the distinctive properties of the common material found within them and the creation of different images by means of the interrelation of these properties; this interrelation is established by the Creator's individual attitude... The desire to penetrate the World and, in reflecting it, to reflect oneself.[121]

Art is taken as the "active aspiration to express the World" and this is made possible by three creative elements: "1. The intuitive basis. 2. Individual transformation of the visible and 3. Abstract creative work."[122] This is comparable with Uspenskii's "units of psychological life - "sensation, representation and the concept, and the fourth which is beginning to arise - higher Intuition".[123] Rozanova's new awareness is apparently less mystically inspired than Uspenskii's, though the selection of the theme of the work is seen as made by the intuitive impulse of the creator.

Rozanova chose not to explore the intuitive aspect or the factors involved, yet it is clear that for her it meant a visual sensation as it acts on the psyche. She avoided the psychological enquiry imposed by Kul'bin, and implied a spontaneous, involuntary and individual reaction to stimuli, ruling out the possibility of chance in art. The subject was causally selected although the cause remained unexplained. However, once the intuitive impulse had been identified, it was transformed by the personality of the artist into an abstract conception - a painting:

> He will reveal the properties of the World and erect from them a New World - the World of the Painting, and by renouncing repetition of the visible, he will inevitably create different images; in turning to their practical realisation on the canvas he will be forced to reckon with them.[124]

According to Rozanova, "The abstract embraces the conception of creative Calculation and of expedient relations to the painterly task".[125] This notion of calculation describes the process of abstracting the elements of nature within one's field of experience, especially for their representation on the canvas. This process of orderly selection and representation differs from

that of past art, where the artist, "riveted to nature, forgot about the painting as an important phenomenon".[126] Rozanova contrasts this "fruit of logic, with its immutable, non-aesthetic characteristics"[127] with her intuitive abstraction and in so doing is very close to Markov's definition of rationalised and non-rationalised art. She allows, like Markov, that the work of certain ancient epochs, the young and the primitive, included a transformation rather than imitation of nature and that this could be the result of "unconscious qualities".[128] As already noted, Markov had written in "The Russian Secession" that children's art, folk art and signboards sometimes "resolve colour problems unbeknown to their authors."[129]

Rozanova insisted on a conscious process for the new art, and like Markov saw modern art as a conglomeration of factors working on and within the artist.[130] However, Rozanova demanded that the result was a much more scientifically reasoned work of "constructive processing".[131] Only then could the self-sufficiency of the painting be realised. Markov ignored this, defining art as an expression of the self and through this the world as it is perceivable. Rozanova's definition of art as an abstract expression of the world, allowed the artist to concentrate on such principles as "pictorial dynamism, volume and equilibrium, weight and weightlessness, linear and plane displacement, rhythm as a legitimate division of space, design, planar and surface dimension, texture, colour correlations and many others".[132] Her concentration on such principles allied her theory particularly

closely with the work of the Burlyuks and helped explained her own abstract illustrations reproduced in the journal.

Both Rozanova and Shkol'nik contributed six lithographs to the journal, the first time either of them had published graphic work. Although randomly distributed throughout the volume, most of the works relate to one another in an apparent order - illustrating a gradual reduction of pictorial form to its essential linear characteristics. This is especially visible in Shkol'nik's drawings which move from the relatively descriptive Petersburg. The Wash-House Bridge (Plate 7.2)[133], to the abstract geometric planes and broken lines of the journal cover (Plate 7.3). The first is a Fauvist depiction of an urban river scene that recalls the decorative image in Derain's Pool of London (1906), quite possibly one of the views of London he showed at the first Golden Fleece exhibition. In Shkol'nik's work, poles bend on the embankment in the foreground, almost forming an arc around the picture; boats rest on the water and a train crosses the bridge; houses frame the river edge, those in the foreground being looked upon from above. Despite being flattened the clearly identifiable figurative elements appear stable and respond to the spatial recession of the picture.

Two Vases (Plate 7.4), notwithstanding its linearity, recalls Shkol'nik's Still-Life with Vases. In this work the subject is flattened and stylised to a high degree. While the object remains identifiable, line is straight and bold, and the source of light ignored. A virtually continuous line aroung the picture's edge

hints at a pictorial integrity and removal from nature. This frame is repeated in a third lithograph (Plate 7.5). However, here the touch is lighter and more calligraphic in the work itself. Shading is absent and the trees, two boats, the shore and houses are created by a sparse line. The houses slant on the sloping ground, no longer the firm constructions of the other works. Still, linear perspective is retained by the converging diagonals and depth is confirmed by the scale of the houses against the bending trees of the foreground. The rhythm of the lines gives the work a gentle motion.

A fourth work (Plate 7.6) is dominated by a spherical movement. Again trees are depicted by simple lines with wisps that represent branches and leaves but now, instead of being in the foreground, they merge with the circulating, less recognisable forms of the houses, which comprise a series of disjointed planes. What seems to be a sun is shown on a second plane behind the trees. The laconicism, fundamental curvilinear rhythm, and shallow, ambiguous depth, may be best related to Tatlin's 'sailor' series (Plates 4.29 and 5.12).

The final two works by Shkol'nik are less immediately identifiable. The first (Plate 7.7) reduces figurative elements still further. The image seems to be more urban and mechanical than the previous works. The buildings have now turned into flat blocks of irregular rectangular form. They are distinguishable only by the unevenly placed black spots that indicate windows. They are flattened and have no sense of volume. The thick lines that cross and surround the buildings appear to represent trees or

poles, but are not identifiable. The straight, broken lines along the outer edges of the picture act as a fragmented frame and show how Shkol'nik is reducing its compositional elements. This reduction of form reaches the point of pure abstraction in the last work (Plate 7.3), which comprises a taut pattern and highly structured, abstract composition. Only by reference to the previous work could it be suggested that this is an urban scene reduced to an abstract entity. The subject is now the compositional elements themselves. The contrast of black and white, line and block, questions the nature of space as solid becomes indistinguishable from non-solid.

Rozanova's work corresponds to Shkol'nik's in many respects. Her reduction of form to its constructive elements has already been mentioned above, with reference to Portrait of A.V. Rozanova (see Plates 6.5 and 6.6). However, her other lithographs in The Union of Youth are more radical in their rejection of decorative aims. Two works, more Futurist in appearance, depict chaotic street scenes. In the first (Plate 7.8), fragments of buildings collide and slide into telegraph poles, the arch of a bridge and the street. A fragment of a wheel is distinguishable in the disorder of the foreground. This fusion of elements evokes the turbulent motion of the city and, despite its flat rendition, recalls the spirit of Boccioni's The Street enters the House (1911, Plate 7.9). However, Rozanova's work is far more dynamic and aggressive, and in this she resembles Larionov - whose graphic works in Antique Love and Worldbackwards[134], have a similar disorder and fusion of representational elements (Plate 7.10).

The remaining works by Rozanova are increasingly dominated by abstract constructive elements. The first (Plate 7.11) balances the representational and abstract in its depiction of a rural landscape. A tree, house, little bridge and undulating ground are identifiable. Volume is absent but three-dimensional space is alluded to and the single viewpoint is retained. The smooth, bold line is both straight and curved. However, in the next work (Plate 7.12), which is altogether more difficult to read, the heavy line is predominantly curved. Reference to nature is subject to interpretation: hills, sea and sky may be extrapolated. In the final work (Plate 7.13) these figurative elements have been completely replaced by an abstract combination of straight and curved lines, sometimes forming facetted planes. Here Rozanova displays the right of the modern artist, as she had just expressed it in her article, to create a self-sufficient art in which compositional principles are of prime importance. Although she may have started from a conception of the street all that is seen here is a fusion of facetted planes and lines, and a sense of pictorial dynamism, relating the work to that of the Italian Futurists (see, for example, Carrà's Rhythms of Lines, 1912, Plate 7.14).

Rozanova's and Shkol'nik's work, while acting as illustrations to Rozanova's theory (and thereby indicative of recent developments in the art of the Union of Youth), were distributed about the journal, apparently independent of the text surrounding them. Thus they are devoid of any specific correlation with the works by Hylaea. This divorces them from the integrated nature of the visual art and poetry of the Russian Futurist booklets, the first

of which had been created by Larionov, Goncharova, Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh in the autumn 1912.[135] Even so, Rozanova's contribution lays the foundations for her collaboration with Malevich and Kruchenykh on their jointly produced booklets later in 1913.[136]

Mikhail Matyushin, "Concerning Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme".[137]

Matyushin continued the general tone of the journal about the dawning of a new age in art, with his introduction to, and editing of, Du Cubisme:

> ... we feel the coming regal moment of the transition of our consciousness to a new phase of dimensions from the third measure to fourth. Artists have always been knights, poets and prophets of space, at all times they have sacrificed everything and perishing they have opened the eyes and taught the masses to see that great beauty of the world hidden from them. So it is now - Cubism has raised the banner of the New Measure - the new doctine about the merging of time and space.[138]

Whereas other contributors stopped short of analysing the consciousness required for the perception and expression of the invisible world, Matyushin brought such an analysis to the surface. He juxtaposed carefully selected and edited paragraphs from Du Cubisme with correlatory passages from Uspenskii's Tertium Organum (1911), asserting that the latter "to a great extent supports many tenets of the new phase in art - of Cubism and the definition of the fourth dimension."[139] Thus Matyushin developed the vaguely mystical quality of Gleizes and Metzinger's essentially technical brochure (they had obscurely referred to "non-Euclidean" geometry and claimed that a Cubist painting "harmonises with things in their entirety, with the universe; it is an organism"[140]). In so doing,

Matyushin implicitly allied the work with his own ideas about the expansion of consciousness and perception.

Du Cubisme, undoubtedly a source of much of the new Russian thinking, like both Baller's and Rozanova's articles, had outlined the deficiences of the "modern" art from Courbet onwards. The Impressionists' dependence on the eye rather than its combination with the mind, necessarily limited their work due to the eye's restricted capabilities. Matyushin, closely paralleling Rozanova's theory, quoted the Cubists' praise for Cézanne, that "deep realist", who had "despised the appearance of objects, penetrating into the common essence", so that painting became "a revelation of the plastic consciousness of our instincts".[141] This too could be united with the notion of the fourth dimension as a field of new consciousness: Uspenskii had taught that the essence of things, that is their inner qualities, are not in our space, but that of higher space and hence subject to further dimensions.

In detecting the underlying presence of the fourth dimension in Du Cubisme, Matyushin made a distinctly parapsychological interpretation of the new art. Such an interpretation, which made extrasensory perception an attainable higher awareness, had hitherto only been explored in Russia by Kul'bin. Kul'bin, having introduced his notion of the fourth dimension into the arts in 1910, had, as recently as 19 February 1913, talked not only about the fourth dimension but also about the the sixth and seventh, as well as "annulled time" and "annulled space".[142] Matyushin applied Uspenskii's words about the clairvoyancy of artists to the Cubists' declaration that paintings should be: "the expression of all the

traits of depth, weight and duration... [which] allows by a corresponding rhythm in a very limited space, the genuine cohesion and merging of objects".[143] Such a correspondence of ideas between the Cubists and Uspenskii went further when applied to the concept of perspective, for both suggested the abandonment of this in favour of a perception of an object from all sides at once. Thus with a heightened sensitivity the artist could depict line, surface and volume as elements capable of revealing an integral whole. Space could be eliminated, as Kul'bin intimated, if, between the "sculpturally expressed reliefs" of the Cubists were depicted forms perceived by the suggestions of the subconsciousness.[144]

Matyushin's article is an important indication of the Russian attitude towards the apprehension and representation of the world. It clearly reinforces Larionov's Rayist painting and theory which sought the depiction of matter (rays) between objects. It also implies the difference between the French Cubists and the Russians. The technical concerns of the French are of secondary importance to Matyushin, who prefers to illuminate the correspondence of ideas with those of recent psychology. The French felt that the fourth dimension could be attained by movement around the object - creating a synthesis of simultaneous multiple views in space. The Russian interpretation, as seen in the theoretical works of Matyushin, Markov, Kul'bin, Rozanova and Larionov, was based first on man acquiring a higher consciousness. This change in consciousness would allow a fourth dimensional view of space (i.e. a view of space where the notion of time was included).

Evoking the fourth dimension in art implied that the artist

came closer to depicting the true nature of reality than he had previously. The French judgement that this could be induced by the straightforward regard for certain natural laws was not totally antipathetic to the Russian idea that the essence of the world could be penetrated and represented by working on the development of man's psyche. Both sides ultimately were in agreement about the unity of matter and the suitability of the forms and constituents of this matter as subjects for painting.

The Contributions of Hylaea

The contributions of the Hylaea section reveal the nature of the alliance between the artistic and literary groups. Dominating Hylaea's contributions was Khlebnikov's "Teacher and Pupil. About Words, Cities and Peoples", which had initially appeared as a separate brochure in 1912.[145] This, together with the succeeding "Conversation between Two Individuals", develops the relationship between the word and number. Modern literature is set off against Russian song: the first sees the horror in life and advocates death, while the second sees beauty and advocates life; the first blames war as senseless slaughter, while the second glorifies military feats.

The poems of the Hylaeans included two examples of symbolist verse by David Burlyuk ("The Hermit" and "The Lover of the Night"), six poems by Nikolai Burlyuk, three by Livshits, and four by Kruchenykh. The latter included one essentially typographical poem ("TYANUT KONEI" (The Horses are Pulled)) in which most of the

letters were in the upper case, and "GO OSNEG KAID" - a poem "written in a language of my own invention"[146], and illustrating the sentiments pronounced by the poets at the Union of Youth literary evening in November 1912. Finally, Guro contributed a short impressionistic prose sketch ("The Chirp of Spring") and Khlebnikov his "War - Death". This last work was a long poem built on neologisms and echoing the sentiments expressed in his "Conversations".

The literary contributions contain a limited variety of modern elements, seen primarily in the neologistic examination of the structure of the word, and as such they coincide with the texts and drawings by the Union of Youth artists. Indeed, the overall impression gained from both the theoretical and creative parts of The Union of Youth (No. 3) is of a journey through Russian artistic modernism. The group's previously unestablished position with regard to Cubist and Futurist principles is set out. This is vividly embodied in the graphic art of Shkol'nik and Rozanova which, rather than evoking identical ends, displays the variety of experiment with expressive means then being utilized in Russia.

The Fourth Union of Youth Journal (Unpublished)

The energetic activity of the first three months of 1913 did not immediately abate after the March debates, even though the art season was drawing to an end. The Union of Youth held several general meetings in quick succession.[147] At these the debates and journal were discussed and plans laid for the future. Among the latter was Malevich's suggestion to set up a Moscow committee of the Union of Youth; the design for the society's official stamp; the fourth journal; and a lecture by Aleksei Grishchenko, an exhibitor with the Knave of Diamonds. Originally material for the fourth issue of the journal was given the deadline for acceptance as 12 April but this was subsequently put back and the publication postponed until the autumn.[148] In fact this postponement, possibly influenced by the failing health of Guro, and her subsequent death on 23 April, was to prove not temporary but permanent. Guro's gentle, pervading influence was felt by many members, not only of Hylaea, but of the Union of Youth as a whole. Without doubt her death shook the group which she had co-founded. Its activity of the spring of 1913 became sharply curtailed. The publication of Markov's The Chinese Flute was delayed and only Grishchenko's lecture went ahead.[149]

Little is known about the content of the projected fourth journal. It is said to have been likely to include an article written in Paris on the Ukrainian Arkhipenko[150], one of the first sculptors to realise the implications of Cubism for sculpture: his 1912 innovations included the opening up voids within the mass of a figure, thereby rejecting the traditional concept of sculpture as

solid surrounded by space. Undoubtedly, his activity would have been of interest to the Union of Youth, especially given Markov's and Matyushin's interest in sculpture.

Other proposed contributions included an article by Larionov, although, as indicated above, Shkol'nik's approach to the founder of Rayism had been unsuccessful. Almost certainly the Hylaean section, with the addition of Mayakovsky, would have contributed once more. Certainly by this time Mayakovsky had written "Painting of the Modern Day", an article which was eventually published in May 1914.[151] Matyushin may also have been expected to publish the article he had written in 1912 on the fourth dimension.[152] The Union of Youth's Credo, could also have been intended for publication in the journal.

It is known that Rozanova submitted one short article to Shkol'nik for inclusion. This was entitled "The Resurrected Rocambole".[153] It concerned a lecture by B.N. Kurdinovskii organised by the Arts Association on 3 March 1913. The lecture on "Ilya Efimovich Repin and his Creative Work" was intended by the Association to counteract Burlyuk's and Kul'bin's recent lectures for the group. In the event, the evening was closed by the police after the public, feeling insulted by the words of the first opponent "a not unknown member of the Black Hundreds, Mr. Zlotnikov"[154], had become agitated in their protests.[155] The closure inevitably led the subsequent discussion of the evening in the press to focus on the scandal rather than the contents of the lecture itself.

In fact, Kurdinovskii's lecture had been both an apology for

Repin's work and an anti-modernist proclamation and, as Rozanova indicates in her article, it was this that incited her to attack it. Essentially, she compared Kurdinovskii's lecture, with its "belated cult of wandererism", to Ponson du Terrail's tales about Rocambole, a character who could die in one adventure and be resurrected in the next.[156] But she broadened her attack by seeing Kurdinovskii as a servile "blind instrument of fate", a predictable characteristic of the "Rocambole effect" on society, created by the vandalism of Repin's Ivan the Terrible. She described the current situation that could lead to such a phenomenon. An attitude of passivity to art was the only explanation for such excitement. The Russian public had only "mechanically perceived" the recent trends, unaware of the necessity for an "active study of art". Thus it had been sufficient for some external reason (the slashing of Repin's work in this case) to awaken the public's "active attention to that which did not need it: the everyday world of the Wanderers". Such sentiments coincide with those expressed in "The Bases of the New Creative Work". The occasion of Kurdinovskii's lecture, organised by a relatively new artistic society, presented the occasion for complementing the author's earlier words with a specific example.

Aleksei Grishchenko's lecture "Russian Painting and its Connexion with Byzantium and the West". 2 May 1913. Troitskii Theatre.

The Knave of Diamonds, which like the Union of Youth, issued its own almanac with articles dedicated to modern art in 1913[157], closed its Petersburg exhibition on 1 May 1913. While it was

dominated by the numerous works of Konchalovskii, Kuprin, Lentulov, Mashkov and Falk, other prominant exhibitors included Aleksei Vasil'evich Grishchenko[158] (1883-1977) with a series of Cézannist canvases. Grishchenko, a Ukrainian born artist, simultaneously published a book tracing the links between Russian painting, Byzantium and the West from the thirteenth to the twentieth century.[159] His Union of Youth sponsored lecture, given in Petersburg the day following the closure of the Knave of Diamonds exhibition, took the same theme.

Such a broad theme for a lecture inevitably led to generalisations. In essence Grishchenko tried, using many lantern slides, to trace the development of Russian painting from the Novgorodian icon painters through to the Knave of Diamonds. He thereby tried to establish the definition of a national art, claiming that the painterly idea had continually been present in Russian art from the ancient icons, through the Petrine period to the innovations of the present day. He examined the influence of foreign art on Russian in all periods, concluding that "the originality of the national painter is never lost in the presence of foreign influences".[160] But he attacked the World of Art, whose essence lay in "retrospectivism, aestheticism and graphic arts"[161], and like Burlyuk and Rozanova before him, he rejected the art and criticism of Serov, Vrubel and Benois, calling for "free painting and the complete freedom of individualism".[162]

Grishchenko's book provides one of the first serious Russian studies of Picasso's creative principles but this seems to have been considerably reduced in the lecture. Instead Grishchenko

included a section based on the Knave of Diamonds, absent from his book.[163] Although he had participated with the Knave of Diamonds at their two exhibitions in 1913, he was sharply critical of their approach which failed to "escape from the Wanderers".[164] He claimed that "Konchalovskii, Mashkov, Lentulov, Ekster and Falk do not have the principles of easel painting, but a nationalism reduced to the representation of national objects."[165] In other words they were entirely reliant on the pale imitation of Cézanne, French Cubism and Italian Futurism, lacking their European mentors' "logical development and... natural growth."[166] Such a notion was entirely in keeping with the Union of Youth's newly critical attitude towards the Knave of Diamonds, as well, of course, as Larionov's. As such it summed up the recent factionalizing, rather than unifying, tendency among the Union of Youth.

The lecture passed off peacefully. Grishchenko was a far less charismatic or phlegmatic orator than Burlyuk or Mayakovsky, and his argument covered much ground already known to the Petersburg youth. Still, it reinforced their ideas about the state of modern Russian art and within a few months Grishchenko was invited back to deliver a lecture at the autumn debates. Although he failed to participate he did contribute to the final Union of Youth exhibition in the autumn, having given up collaborating with the Knave of Diamonds. His May lecture signalled an end to the Union of Youth's 1912-1913 season, and although individual members collaborated over the summer, it was only with the arrival of autumn that the group became fully active once more.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, Boris Mirskii, "Veselaya vystavka", Sinii Zhurnal', No. 1, 4 January 1913, p. 7. It was also called Cubist (see previous chapter). However, this labelling by the critics did not reflect, as shown above, the pervasive character of the exhibition.

2. See Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 10.

3. Shkol'nik and Zheverzheev received the maximum vote of 10, Matyushin 6, Dydyshko 5 and Rozanova 3.

4. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 14.

5. Target was the new name for Larionov's Donkey's Tail group. It was adopted to symbolise the antipathetic attitude of the public, critics and other artists to the group: "As to a target, towards us fly the gibes and abuse of those who cannot raise themselves up to us, who cannot look at the problems of art with our eyes" (F. M., "Luchisty" Moskovskaya gazeta, No. 231, 7 January 1913, p. 2).

6. Rech' No. 14, 15 January 1913, p. 6.

7. Ibid. As noted above, until 19 January 1913 it was reported that the exhibition would travel to Helsingfors (See Russkaya molva No. 33, 13 January 1913, p. 6 and Protiv techeniya No. 13, 19 January 1913, p. 4).

8. See "Doklady-disputy", Rech', 17 February 1913, No. 47, p. 6.

9. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 17.

10. Sadok Sudei II (March 1913) included four Rayist drawings by Larionov and Goncharova. It was dominated by the "Hylaea" poets - Khlebnikov, David and Nikolai Burlyuk, Mayakovsky, Kruchenykh, Guro, Nizen and Livshits. David Burlyuk contributed several drawings - depicting figures, especially horses, comprised of repeated geometrical figures, and continuing the description of "four points of view" seen at the sixth Union of Youth exhibition. Guro and Vladimir Burlyuk also contributed art work - Guro six ink drawings and Burlyuk two works that consisted of flat geometricised and facetted planes, reminiscent of tribal masks. These subsequently appeared on the poster for the Union of Youth's March debates (see Plate 7. 1).

11. Cited in N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda (Stockholm), 1976, pp. 39-41.

12. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 13-16.

13. Mayakovsky Museum Archive, cited in Khardzhiev K istorii, p. 39.

14. Archive of the State Academy of Art Criticism, Leningrad, No. 954, cited in Khardzhiev, K istorii, p. 40.

15. Recorded in Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 19 and l. 21 (Committee Meeting Minutes of 4 March and 6 March 1913). See also Rech' No. 72, 15 March 1913, p. 5.

16. Ibid.

17. Bakhrushin Museum Archive, cited in Khardzhiev K istorii, p. 41.

18. See Khardzhiev "Mayakovskii i zhivopis'" in V. Pertsov, M. Serebryanskii (ed.) Mayakovskii: materialy i issledovaniya (Moscow) 1940, p. 371.

19. Ibid.

20. Russian Museum Archive, cited in Khardzhiev K istorii, p. 41.

21. Senior, "O futurizme: Doklad I. M. Zdanevicha", Russkaya molva, No. 118, 9 April 1913, p. 5. Zdanevich even went so far as to claim "Futurism does not exist either in the Knave of Diamonds or the Union of Youth" (Rostislavov, "Doklad o futurizme", Rech' No. 97, 9 April 1913, p. 4).

22. In Target's manifesto "Rayists and Futurists" [Luchisty i Budushchniki], published in Oslinyi khvost i mishen (Moscow, 1913), p. 9, the group claimed "We declare no war whatsoever, for where could we find opponents who are our equals!?".

23. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 1. By this time Larionov and Goncharova had published, together with Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh, six booklets: A Game in Hell, Antique Love, The Worldbackwards, Hermits, Half-Alive and Pomade. Besides the second A Trap for Judges, no 'Futurist' booklets had yet appeared in Petersburg. A similar request for the return of books, or payment for them, was made in a note Larionov sent Shkol'nik on 24 March (Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 3).

24. N. B.: Burlyuk published The Noisy 'benois' and the New Russian National Art [Galdyashchie "benua" i novoe russkoe natsionalnoe iskusstvo] in Petersburg in the summer of 1913. This booklet also included an advertisement for Union of Youth publications - among the proposals was Markov's Chinese Flute and Faktura, Burger's Cézanne and Hodler, Shkol'nik and Rozanova's Almanac of Drawings, a Union of Youth translation of Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme and The Union of Youth (No. 4) - the latter given the date of September 1913 for publication. Burlyuk's argument with Benois stemmed from the latter's criticism of certain modernist artists at the Union of Russian Artists' 1910 exhibition.

25. "Bubnovye valety" Russkoe slovo No. 47, 26 February 1913, p. 7.

26. Ibid.

27. David Burlyuk, "Kustarnoe iskusstvo", Moskovskaya gazeta No. 239, 25 February 1913, p. 2

28. Soyuz Molodezhi (No. 3) was published on 22 March 1913.

29. See "Doklady-disputy" Rech' No. 47, 17 February 1913 p. 6.

30. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 19.

31. It undoubtedly bore much in common with his talk at the Knave of Diamonds debate of 7 February 1913.

32 "... almost half the lecture" according to A. Rostislavov, "Disput o zhivopisi" Rech' No. 83, 26 March 1913, p. 5.

33. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 20-21.

34. Malevich showed some of his most radical works to date, including The Knife Grinder, at the Target exhibition which opened the following day in Moscow.

35. Malevich introduced his talk thus: "Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope you will try to restrain the raptures provoked in you by my interesting lecture". (S. Timofeev, "Disput o sovremennoi zhivopisi" Den' No. 80, 24 March 1913, p. 3).

36. Ibid. Viktor Shklovsky (Mayakovsky and his Circle, ed. and trans. Lily Feiler, London, 1974 pp. 51-52) adds the following description of Malevich's appearance: "Before the lecture, Malevich had exhibited a picture: on a red background, women in black and white, shaped like truncated cones. This was a powerful work, not an accidental find. Malevich did not intend to shock anyone, he simply wanted to explain what it was all about. The audience felt like laughing. Malevich spoke quietly: "Serov that mediocre dauber..." The audience began to clamour joyfully. Malevich looked up and calmly said: "I was not teasing anyone, that is what I believe." He continued his lecture."

37. For Marinetti's literary manifesto see E. Sem-v. "Futurizm (literaturnyi manifest)" Nasha gazeta, No. 54, 6 March 1909, p. 4. The exact identity of the group Malevich represented remains a mystery since he retained the term "Futuristy". In The Donkey's Tail and Target Larionov referred to members of his group as budushchniki. On the other hand, Khlebnikov's budetlyanin term for Russian Futurists is associated with the artists and poets based in Petersburg who co-operated with the Union of Youth. At this point, where Malevich's allegiances most lay is still not certain.

38. "The Union of Youth", Credo (St. Petersburg) 23 March 1913, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 17.

39. Timofeev, "Disput o sovremennoi zhivopisi".

40. O. Rozanova, "Osnovy novogo tvorchestva i prichiny ego neponimaniya", Soyuz molodezhi, No. 3, pp. 14-22.

41. "The Union of Youth", Credo.

42. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 1.

43. "The Union of Youth", Credo.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Cited from U. Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos (London) 1973, p. 26.

47. It is worth noting that Bergson's Creative Evolution was published in Russian translation as Tvorcheskii Evolyutsiya, (Moscow), 1909.

48. "Manifesto of the Futurist Painters" (1910), cited in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p. 26.

49. "The Union of Youth", Credo.

50. Ibid.

51. Larionov, "Predislovie", Mishen (exhibition catalogue, Moscow) 1913, pp. 5-6.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. See F. M., "Luchisty", Moskovskii gazeta No. 231, 7 January 1913, p. 2.

56. Larionov, "Predislovie".

57. Rostislavov, "Disput of zhivopisi".

58. Ibid.

59. Timofeev, "Disput of sovremennoi zhivopisi".

60. Khardzhiev, "Mayakovskii i zhivopis'", p. 362.

61. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 13

62. Published in D. Burlyuk (et. al.) Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu (Moscow), 1912, pp. 63-64.

63. Published in Sadok Sudei II (St. Petersburg), 1913, p. 58.

64. Published in Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu, p. 81.

65. Published in Sadok Sudei II, pp. 102-105.

66. Published in Sadok Sudei (I).

67. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 28-29.

68. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 21, and see Khardzhiev, "Mayakovskii i zhivopis'", p. 363.

69. For a full examination of the literary side of Russian Futurism see V. Markov, Russian Futurism - A History, (London), 1969. See also V. Barooshian, Russian Cubo-Futurism 1910-30, (The Hague/Paris), 1974.

70. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 28.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Tan., "Kubisty i kruglisty", Rech' No. 83, 26 March 1913, p. 2.

75. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 12.

76. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 28-29.

77. Published in F. Marinetti, Zang tumb tumb, (Milan), 11 May 1912. See Marianne W. Martin, Futurist Art and Theory 1909-1915, (Oxford), 1968, p. 128.

78. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 29.

79. Martin, Futurist Art and Theory 1909-1915, p. 128.

80. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 29.

81. V. Kandinskii, "Soderzhanie i forma" Salon 2 (Odessa), 1911, p. 16.

82. Tan. "Kubisty i kruglisty". These are nonsense words.

83. Vasilisk [Vasilii Ivanovich] Gnedov (b. 1890). His most famous work is a cycle of poems, Smert iskusstva (Petersburg, 1913) in which the last poem is a blank page.

84. Tan. "Kubisty i kruglisty".

85. See below, concerning the intended publication of a fourth issue.

86. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 14. Minutes for the meeting of 9 January 1913.

87. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 22. Minutes for the meeting of 8 March 1913. However, the Union of Youth still intended to publish the translation of Du Cubisme separately.

88. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 19. Minutes for the meeting of 4 March 1913.

89. However, his meeting with Mayakovsky and Kruchenykh is confused by his later recollection that he met them together with Malevich, for the first time, when he visited Moscow as part of the Union of Youth delegation to find partners for co-operation on projects ("Tvorcheskii put' khudozhnika", (1934, IRLI 656. 76) cited in Kovtun "K. S. Malevich. Pis'ma k M. V. Matyushinu" Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo doma na 1974 god (Leningrad, 1976) p. 178). Matyushin gives the date of this meeting as 1912 though the only known similar group trip was that of mid-January 1913. Matyushin himself writes ("Russkie kubo-futuristy", Khardzhiev K istorii, p. 146) that he began to associate with the Union of Youth again only in November 1912 - at which time, as Burlyuk's letters to Shkol'nik prove (see previous chapter), Mayakovsky was staying with Nikolai Burlyuk in Petersburg (and was introduced to the Union of Youth committee on 13 November). This confines the possibility of a group trip to Moscow to after the Union of Youth debate (20 November) and before the opening of the sixth exhibition (4 December). While such a trip is conceivable given that arrangements for Moscow contributions to the exhibition had to be made, Matyushin did not officially rejoin the Union of Youth until early January and therefore his participation in any earlier group delegation is doubtful. This may identify his first meeting with Malevich as 12 January 1913 when the delegation was in Moscow.

90. Soyuz molodezhi (St. Petersburg) No. 3, 1913, p. 5.

91. M. [V. Matvejs], "Russkie setsession", Rizhskaya mysl' (Riga), No. 909, 12 August 1910, p. 3.

92. Rostislavov "Disput o zhivopisi".

93. Soyuz molodezhi No. 3, p. 5.

94. Ibid.

95. A. Baller, "Apollon budnichnyi i Apollon chernyavyi" Soyuz molodezhi, No. 3, pp. 11-13.

96. A. Baller, "O khromoterapii uzhe ispol'zovannoi", Soyuz molodezhi No. 3, pp. 23-24.

97. Baller, "Apollon", op. cit., p. 12.

98. Ibid.

99. Baller, "O khromoterapii", op. cit. p. 23.

100. Petrov-Vodkin's Bathing of the Red Horse (1912) was first shown at the World of Art exhibition in Moscow, November 1912, then in Petersburg during January.

101. Baller, "O khromoterapii", op. cit. p. 24.

102. E. Spandikov, "Labarint iskusstva", Soyuz molodezhi, No. 3, pp. 6-10.

103. Ibid. p. 8.

104. Ibid pp. 9-10.

105. N. D. Burlyuk "Vladimir Davidovich Burlyuk", Soyuz molodezhi No. 3, pp. 35-38.

106. Ibid. p. 35.

107. Ibid. p. 37.

108. See W. Worringer, Abstraction and Empathy (trans. by M. Bullock), New York, 1980, pp. 21-22.

109. O. Rozanova, "Osnovy novogo tvorchestva i prichiny ego neponimaniya", Soyuz molodezhi, No. 3, pp. 14-22.

110. Ibid pp. 17-18.

111. In the Credo the metaphor of sleep was used several times with reference to the establishment, suggesting Rozanova's contribution.

112. Ibid. p. 17.

113. Ibid. p. 18.

114. Ibid. p. 19.

115. Spandikov, "Labarint iskuustva", op. cit. pp. 6-7.

116. Rozanova, "Osnovy", op. cit. p. 19. Cf. Markov: "the deft brushstrokes of Zorn or Sorolla are no more than *salto mortale*, cheap effects... We deny acrobatics in painting." ("Russkii Setsession").

117. Rozanova, "Osnovy", op. cit. p. 20.

118. Ibid. p. 22.

119. Petr Uspenskii Tertium Organum (Petersburg 1911) p. 60, cited from M. Matyushin "O knige Gleizes i Metzinger Du Cubisme" Soyuz Molodezhi, No. 3 p. 26. Matyushin's comparison of Tertium Organum's tenets with those of Cubism, as expressed in Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme, suggests that such a relation was current among members of the Union of Youth.

120. Rozanova, "Osnovy", op. cit. p. 21.

121. Ibid. p. 14.

122. Ibid.

123. Cited from Matyushin "O knige", op. cit. p. 26.

124. Rozanova, "Osnovy", op. cit. p. 15.

125. Ibid. p. 16.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.

129. M. [Matvejs] "Russkii Setsession". See Chapter Three.

130. Rozanova wrote, as if anticipating Matyushin's "SEE-KNOW" theory, that modern art was: "what the artist sees + what he knows + what he remembers etc." ("Osnovy", p. 16).

131. Ibid. p. 17.

132. Ibid. p. 20.

133. This title is taken from J. Kowtun Die Wiedergeburt der künstlerischen Druckgraphik (Dresden), 1984, p. 84.

134. Starinnaya Lyubov and Mirskontsa, as well as Igra v adu [A Game in Hell], in which Larionov's and Goncharova's first Futurist illustrations to Krhuchenykh's and Khlebnikov's poetry had appeared, were published late in 1912. See S. Compton, The World Backwards: Russian Futurist Books 1912-16 (London), 1978, p. 125.

135. See Footnote 134.

136. During the second half of 1913 they published Bukh Lesinnyi, Vzroval', Vozropshchem, Porosyata, Slovo kak takovoe, Chort i rechetvortsyi, Ryav! Pertchatki! and Utinoe Gnezdyshkov... durnykh slov. See Compton, The World Backwards, pp. 125-126.

137. M. Matyushin, "O knige Gleizes i Metzinger Du Cubisme", Soyuz Molodezhi, No. 3, pp. 25-34. See Footnotes 24 and 87. Matyushin published a separate edition of Du Cubisme, translated by his

sister-in-law Ekaterina Nizen (St. Petersburg, 1913), which the Union of Youth had originally agreed to publish (see Footnote 87). Also in 1913 another translation appeared in Moscow - by M.V. [Maksimilian Voloshin], and excerpts from the book were translated in Russkaya molva No. 41, 21 January 1913, p. 3.

138. Matyushin, "O knige" op. cit. p. 25.

139. Ibid.

140. Gleizes and Metzinger, Du Cubisme (Paris), 1912, p. 11. Here it is worth noting Fry's observation that, despite talk of the fourth dimension by some Cubist critics, "... the author's [Gleizes and Metzinger] metaphorical reference to non-Euclidean geometry, of which they knew hardly anythng at all, is only a restatement of the similarly poetic reference to the "Fourth Dimension", which originated with Apollinaire in 1911 [Gil Blas, Paris, 26 November 1911]." (E. Fry, Cubism, London, 1978, pp. 111-112).

141. Matyushin, "O knige", p. 28.

142. See A. Parnis, P. Timenchik, "Programmy Brodyachei sobaki" Pamyatniki Kul'tury 1983 (Leningrad 1985), p. 208.

143. Matyushin, "O knige", p. 29.

144. Ibid.

145. V. Khlebnikov Uchitel' i uchenik. O slovakh, gorodakh i narodakh (St. Petersburg), 1912.

146. A. Kruchenykh, "GO OSNEG KAID", Soyuz molodezhi No. 3, p. 72.

147. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 23-28.

148. See Minutes for General Meeting of the Union of Youth, 2 April 1913, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 28.

149. Concerning The Chinese Flute, see Chapter Eight. See below, this Chapter, concerning Grishchenko's lecture.

150. See A. Nakov, "Notes from an Unpublished Catalogue", Studio International (London) 1973, vol. 12, p. 223.

151. V. Mayakovskii, "Zhivopis' segodnyashnego dnya", Novaya zhizn' (Moscow), May 1914.

152. Mention of this article, "The Sense of the Fourth Dimension" is made, for example, in S. Compton "Malevich's Suprematism- The Higher Intuition", The Burlington Magazine, Vol. 118, No. 881, August 1976, p. 579.

153. O. Rozanova "Voskreshnii Rokhombol'", Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 82, l. 1-2.

154. Zlotnikov was an anti-revolutionary artist whose cartoons illustrated the Black Hundreds papers) (See "Skandal na lektsii" Rech' No. 61, 4 March 1913, p. 2; and Russkaya molva No. 82, 4 March 1913, p. 4.)

155. In fact it was this event, which led the Union of Youth to be extra-cautionary at their debates later in the month.

156. One of Ponson du Terrail's tales was entitled La resurrection de Rocambole (Paris 1866).

157. It was reported at the end of 1912 ("Bubnovyi valet", Teatr (St. Petersburg), No. 115, 23 December 1912, p. 3) that the almanac would be published within a few days with the following articles: Kandinsky, "Posvyashchenie (vvedenie k teorii novago zhivopisnago iskusstva)" [Dedication (An Introduction to the Theory of New Painterly Art)]; D. Burlyuk - "Kubizm i zhivopisnyi kontrapunkt" [Cubism and Painterly Counterpoint]; Le Fauconnier "Sovremennaya vospriimchivost' i kartiny" [Modern Receptiveness and Paintings]; and Apollinaire "Ferdinand Léger". In the event only the last two articles were included with Aksenov's "K voprosu o sovremennom sostoyanii russkoi zhivopisi" [On the Question of the Modern Situation of Russian Painting], on the theme of his lecture at the Knave of Diamonds debate on 24 February 1913; and two exhibition reviews.

158. Grishchenko had studied painting in Moscow in Yuon's studio (1910) and Mashkov's studio (1911).

159. A. Grishchenko, O svyazyakh russkoi zhivopisi s Vizantiei i Zapadom XIII-XX vv. Mysli zhivopistsa, (Moscow) 1913.

160. A. Rostislavov, "Doklad v Troitskom teatre" Rech' No. 119, 4 May 1913, p. 4.

161. Ibid.

162. Ibid.

163. This section compares with an article he wrote about the group: A. Grishchenko, "Bubnovyi valet", Apollon, No. 6 1913, pp. 31-38.

164. Rostislavov, "Doklad v Troitskom teatre".

165. Ibid.

166. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 35-6. Lecture programme.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE 1913-1914 SEASON

THE CLIMAX OF THE UNION OF YOUTH'S ACTIVITIES

The Seventh Union of Youth Exhibition 10 November 1913 to 12 January 1914

The Union of Youth's seventh exhibition turned out to be its last. It was also one of its most remarkable, not least because of the radical new work by Malevich, Filonov and Rozanova. Having opened early in the exhibiting season, on 10 November, the show continued to be displayed for a full two months. The venue, 73 Nevskii Prospekt, was the same as the previous year. With the Arts Association not organising any further exhibitions and no avant-garde work at the Non-Aligned Society show (March 1914), the Union of Youth stood out as the most progressive group in St. Petersburg that season. Still, other exhibitions did occur which included some works of the avant-garde: the World of Art's exhibition included contributions by several former Triangle and Union of Youth exhibitors[1]; the Dobychina Bureau organised several shows consisting primarily of work by the younger generation of artists[2], and one or two pseudo-Futurist exhibitions also took place.[3]

As expected, Larionov, Goncharova and Shevchenko were absent from the Union of Youth's exhibition. However, they had, upon their request, been sent invitations to participate. This appears to have been a ruse to create antagonism, for the Moscow artists informed Shkol'nik, through Malevich, that their request had only been a joke.[4] Malevich himself did take part, together with Tatlin, Morgunov and the Burlyuk brothers. These Muscovites

brought with them Vera Shekhtel, Khodasevich, Podgaevskii, Sinyakova, Labunskaya and Klyun.[5] Other new artists to the group included Al'tman, Bezhentsev, Vasil'eva and Lasson-Spirova.[6] Filonov, Zel'manova and Ekster returned after absences, while Baller, Markov and Bubnova did not participate. Besides the one hundred and sixty-five works listed in the catalogue, a posthumous exhibition of Guro's work was also mounted. In fact this was the only time she exhibited with the group she helped found.

Though Guro's exhibition was given a separate room neither the catalogue nor the press reviews give any indication of its size. Furthermore, it was largely passed over by the critics who concentrated on the more sensational work of the other halls. As Rostislavov had noticed in his obituary of the artist seven months earlier, the reason for the general silence about Guro was because she had not given the critics food for their irony or ridicule.[7] In fact her art, just as her prose and poetry, was always distinguishable from that of her colleagues by its intimate love for the impressionistic appearance of nature. This nature, essentially the Finnish landscape, she seemed to feel rather than see.

Guro's watercolours and ink drawings catch fragments of roots and stones, branches of pine trees or a path (see Plates 8.1 and 8.2). The feeling of an awareness of organic growth is evoked. Volume and perspective are ignored. Objects are frequently cut off by the picture edge. Small, unexceptional objects could be focused on, as in the sketch of a Russian window (Plate 8.4). The persistant effect was that of a feeling of great sensitivity and

penetration into other worlds. Pines (1912, Plate 8.5) emphasizes this. It consists of flowing pink and yellow forms. A line of green trees, with square hatching, crosses the picture surface. Bright and dark pinks, oranges and mauves abound. As with her other works, structure is diminished and an effect of spontaneity attained. Guro seems to not only have penetrated other worlds but had them penetrate her. Rostislavov confirms this intimacy: "she drew her spiritual wealth from mysterious sources".[8]

The brief notices that Guro did receive concerning her exhibits give a sense of how representative her posthumous exhibition was: "There are many graphic and illustrative qualities, as well as symbolism, in the works of the recently deceased E. Guro - a delicate talent that is more poetic than painterly. The most successful of her drawings is the Japonist sketch of a snow-covered tree and two or three pencil landscapes"[9]; and "There is a quite delicate realism in the very attractive, very schematic and generalised work of the late E. Guro. She feels nature so subtly. Many of her small works, book decorations etc. are very good."[10]

Guro's impressionism appears unique at the exhibition, her empathy with nature only comparable to Matyushin. The new concentration on pictorial construction outlined by Rozanova in her recent essay, and a continuation of the coloristic concerns already stated in the work of Shkol'nik and Shleifer, dominate. Most striking is the adaptation of Neo-Primitivism to the new ideas concerning the expression of the basic elements of painterly art. A Cubist fragmentation of form and a Futurist interest in dynamism

and urban subject matter are much in evidence for the first time.

The Petersburg critics were scornful of the denial of academic principles: one even declined to write a review, complaining that to comment on the exhibition was a job for psychiatrists not critics.[11] It was left to Rostislavov and Denisov to look for meaning in the work shown. The latter found the work essentially superficial, but explained this by the lack of a genuine school of painting in Russia, and welcomed the attempt to start afresh. However, he found unfortunate traces of the "uncreative" World of Art:

> ...[in] the general... absence of strict demarcation between the principles of easel painting and stage decoration; the ornamental complexity and crampedness of composition instead of a wise simplicity; then in the often ungrounded colouring (in some cases colour alone comprises the painting); then in the bluntness of the tube paint, which has not been transformed into strong and restrained tones; and finally in the lack of a manipulated painterly texture - a satisfaction with the easy and superficial means of painting.[12]

Rostislavov was more enthusiastic, recognising the painters' right to try to paint not only "that which you see... but also that which you know, not only the static, but also the dynamic".[13] His general impression of the exhibition was of:

> a union, not on the grounds of a universal, definite aim, but on the grounds of novelty, and, principally, of isolated individuality. Here a fair amount is already old, but I would add that in the majority of the good painting, the old has been renewed with some sauce of novelties.[14]

Malevich's work was the most sensational of the exhibition, and far more serious than most of the critics gave him credit for. While this is not the place for a full study of his 1913 work, which has been the subject of much recent analysis[15], given his prominence in the Union of Youth during the year, a brief outline

of his ideas and exhibits is necessary.

Since early 1913 he had become one of the Union of Youth's most active members. His meeting with Matyushin at the start of the year was crucial. It resulted in a friendship and close working relationship that led to Malevich's non-objectivity and, more immediately, to his 'trans-rationalism'. Thus he was able to write to Matyushin in June 1913:

> We have come as far as the rejection of reason so that another kind of reason can grow in us, which in comparison to what we have rejected, can be called beyond-reason, which also has law and construction and sense, only by knowing this will we have work based on the law of the truly new, the beyond-reason.[16]

Malevich's arrival at this conception of an alternative order of things is comprehensible given the circles in which he now moved: it relates to both Filonov's and Rozanova's analytical and intuitive principles, as well as to Matyushin's Uspenskian interpretation of Du Cubisme, and Markov's call for the abandonment of causally created art. Inevitably, a symbolist legacy is felt.

In the same letter, Malevich developed his means of using "beyond-reason" (that is zaum) in art:

> This reason [zaum] has found Cubism for the means of expressing a thing... I don't know whether you agree with me or not but I am beginning to understand that in this beyond-reason there is also a strict law that gives pictures their right to exist. And not one line should be drawn without the consciousness of its law; only then are we alive.[17]

Malevich's awareness of this law was to be reflected in his exhibits. These he divided into two groups: "zaum realist" works, all of which were created in 1912, thereby predating his zaum ideas; and "Cubo-Futurist realist". Letters from Malevich to Shkol'nik of late October and early November 1913[18] indicate how

laboriously he organised the Moscow contributions to the exhibition. They also show how much the new works, with their new sense of research and discovery, meant to him. He described his depression at sending off the works upon which he had spent so much recent time, and which had surrounded him in his apartment. In addition, he wrote of his poverty and the need to sell the paintings at any cost. This was reflected in the prices pencilled in the Union of Youth's copy of the catalogue[19] which range from a very meagre 25 roubles for the Cubo-Futurist Paraffin Stove to a mere 100 roubles for The Samovar (contrasting with Filonov's asking price of 2,400 roubles for Feast of Kings).

Between 1912 and 1913 Malevich experimented with a variety of modern styles from Neo-Primitivism to a Cubist geometricisation. He had used the peasant as a motif to represent the eternal. As seen in Chapter Six, his peasant changed from a clumsy bestial character into a primitive machine being. Benois had noted this swing at the previous Union of Youth exhibition but had found it a hesitant oscillation, spoiling what he considered Malevich's otherwise attractive work. He concluded: "In previous times, it was very likely that a man was praised for 'searching' and 'not standing still'. But truly now what is demanded from an artist is 'firm groundedness' and 'inviolable conviction'".[20] Malevich requested (in vain) that the following reply be printed in the exhibition catalogue above his entries:

> "But truly now what is demanded from an artist is inviolable conviction..." (Benois, 21.12.1912)
> But I say that the inviolable will be destroyed tomorrow and the only one who lives is he who destroys his convictions of yesterday.[21]

Thus he allowed himself to assimilate and interpret a number of styles in quick succession. This even permitted, as seen many years later in his return to the peasant motif and 'naturalistic' art, the possibility of utilizing styles already tried and abandoned, without fear of contradicting 'modern' tendencies.

Malevich's description of his works as realist indicates he regarded them as the result of perception. At the seventh Union of Youth exhibition he exhibited six "zaum realist" works, some of which (e.g. Morning after the Blizzard in the Village and The Knife Grinder) had been shown the previous spring at the Target exhibition. In fact, the catalogue labelling of Malevich's work as examples of "zaum realism" and "Cubo-Futurist realism" is misleading, not least because the former were supposedly created when the idea of zaum had not yet crystallised in his thinking. Furthermore, the notion of Cubo-Futurism was also very new and ill-defined at this stage. Thus the distinction between Malevich's conception of Cubo-Futurist and transrational art is not, and perhaps deliberately, made clear by the artist.

However, the works belonging to the "zaum realist" group do constitute a recognisable group and almost certainly belong to a period between the end of 1912 and the middle of 1913. They continue the use of peasant motif seen in 1912 but with an increasing fusion of subject matter and environment. This, in turn, shows a growing mastery of Cubist and Futurist principles.[22] The decorative canvases Morning after the Blizzard in the Village (Plate 8.6), Peasant Woman with Buckets, and The Knife Grinder (Plate 8.7), start from the same heavy, volumetric, geometricised

figures of The Woodcutter and Taking in the Rye (see Chapter Six), but end with multiple viewpoints and a new analytical and dynamic form.

The Knife Grinder (cat. 66) could be described as a Futurist depiction of movement, though, as Compton has pointed out, it "illustrates a complex reaction... to stimuli borrowed from the European avant-garde."[23] Thus the circular movement of the grinding tool creates reverberations throughout the composition. The figure is seen in profile and full-face, and the legs and feet are repeated. The stairs recall Duchamp's Nude Descending a Staircase, which had been reproduced in Gleizes and Metzinger's Du Cubisme. Furthermore, a debt to Léger is felt: the mechanised world and fragmentation of matter, lacking a systematic grid, is highly suggestive of Léger's Woman in Blue, which had been shown in a Moscow exhibition of French art in January 1913 and reproduced in a Russian journal as early as October 1912[24]; and the stylization of the hands appears to have been borrowed from Léger's Essay for Three Portraits, shown at the Knave of Diamonds 1912 exhibition.

Despite the zaum appearance of the staircase and balustrade in The Knife Grinder, and the saw blades and the objects in the place of the subject's left eye in The Completed Portrait of Ivan Klyun (cat. 65, Plate 8.8), only the latter represents a clear shift towards the representation of Malevich's new transrational world of four dimensions. Here the interpenetration of planes and the alogical association of elements begin to dominate. The metallic surfaces are cut open and the reassemblage, with its broken contours, only loosely resembles a head. The right eye is split

and the space of the left eye, crowded with objects, creates an ambiguous representation of volume. This deliberate distortion of the eyes suggests their function is more than optical. It states that the eye is knowing and can perceive a new spatial reality. Such a visual statement prepares the way for the higher reality perceived by "Cubo-Futurist realism". Thus The Completed Portrait of Ivan Klyun, while linked to the Portrait of Ivan Klyun shown at the sixth Union of Youth exhibition, shows a transition to the study of volumes and hyperspace seen in the decorations Malevich made for Kruchenykh's zaum opera Victory over the Sun.

The "zaum realist" works are united by their withdrawal from the ordinarily visible world to a world of unified colour planes. The subject, related to the title, is still clearly identifiable despite the fragmentation of formal elements. Only in Head of a Peasant Girl (cat.62, Plate 8.9), with its interlocking planes and strong linear framework - suggestive of a knowledge of hermetic Cubism - is the subject much harder to read. The colour modulation and abstraction of simplified forms resembles that of Gris' Portrait of the Artist's Mother (1912), while being more physical and intense. Again metallic tones predominate and a sculptural effect is achieved. A head with two eyes, surrounded by a scarf, can be extrapolated from the abstract forms.

Malevich added an independent sense of vitality and mystery to his exploitation of Parisian developments. Recorded in the catalogue as 1913 examples of "Cubo-Futurist realism" are six works: The Reapers, The Paraffin Stove, The Wall Clocks, The Lamp, The Samovar and Portrait of a Landlady. These are less well-known

than the "zaum realist", but relate closely to Malevich's new graphic work in Kruchenykh's Futurist booklets.[25] Contemporary descriptions help create an impression of their appearance, e.g.:

> Wall Clocks is a painting in which he [Malevich] has broken up into parts not only the casing with the time and pendulum but also the very amplitude of the pendulum and the hour striker with its wheezing sound, as well as the measured definition of the sound etc., the knowable and non-knowable, the existing and the implied...[26]

Such a fragmentation resembles that seen in The Completed Portrait of Ivan Klyun. However, Rostislavov hints that the formal elements have become more of a processed "hodge-podge"[27], rather than retaining the integrity of the works in the other section. This is also suggested by the description of Portrait of a Landlady (cat. 72) as a "formless pile of little cubes and cylinders" - which apparently contained no visual reference to the subject of the title.[28]

Malevich's Cubo-Futurism represented the new order of things. It acted as a progression from "zaum realism", which perceived the new order from the point of view of the old order. Inevitably, a new consciousness had to be attained to be able to represent the new, fourth-dimensional order. To this end, nature, and consequently the peasant, had to be abandoned. As a result, Malevich changes his motifs as well as his style, but did not limit himself to the Italian Futurists' devotion to the machine. His titles suggest man-made, domestic objects, symbols of home-life in the city.

Where the object is indicated in "Cubo-Futurist realism", it is fragmented almost to the point of non-recognition. Malevich

makes use of Braque's and Picasso's Cubist painting of 1910-1912, basing the composition on a systematic grid, fragmenting forms and divorcing the planes from representational function. The viewpoint is no longer relevant - the artist has gone within: "the world did not exist from below, from above, from the side of from behind: we merely formed conjectures about it... We began to regard the world differently and discovered its many-sided movement and were thus faced with the problem of how to convey it fully."[29]

Samovar (cat. 71, Plate 8.10)[30] appears an almost academic essay in hermetic Cubism, since Malevich has quite openly reiterated Picasso's analytical structure based on a linear grid. Furthermore, he has muted his colour for the first time in some years - using softer pinks, purple, greys, blues and buff. Yet a 'Cubo-Futurist' element is attained by the oblique turning of the rough squares to form diamonds, thereby adding dynamism to the picture surface.

In Lamp (cat. 70, Plate 8.11)[31], which is closely related to Malevich's designs for Victory over the Sun (see below), Malevich borrowed ideas from Picasso's new work in Shchukin's collection, e.g. Violin and Guitar (1913, Plate 8.12). Yet, his colours are not so entirely subservient to form, as he uses purple to create a shallow depth to the construction, without binding it to its surroundings. In addition, and in keeping with the zaum ideas of Victory over the Sun, Malevich's work seems to relate, through its underlying geometrical structure, to a diagram of a tessaract (i.e. a four-dimensional solid as it passes through three-dimensional space, generated from a three-dimensional cube) from Charles Howard

Hinton's book The Fourth Dimension (1904).[32]

It becomes evident that by late 1913 Malevich sought to express a higher order of reality, comprehensible only by alogical laws not by traditional reason. This was in keeping with Markov's call for art based on 'non-constructive' principles, and due in part to his close contact with Matyushin. However, despite the fact that such ideas had been expressed for some while in this milieu, only Malevich appears to have found an original and vital pictorial solution to the representation of the 'fourth dimension'.

Like Malevich, Filonov was particularly active in Union of Youth circles in 1913, although he remained aloof from the committee. He showed his latest works at this final exhibition and created the stage designs for Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, which the Union of Youth was to organise in December 1913. Furthermore, a lecture on Filonov by Nikolai Burlyuk was planned to coincide with the exhibition and although a programme was written and an announcement made in the press[33] it seems unlikely that it actually took place.

The programme of the lecture, entitled "P.N. Filonov: The Crowner of Psychological Intimism"[34], looked at all aspects of Filonov's work, from his sources of inspiration (from Goya, Po, Hoffman, Bosch, Leonardo da Vinci to the Russian lubok, miniatures, primitive art of Africa and Asia and ideography) to formal qualities and context. Like Matyushin and Guro, Filonov felt able to penetrate the exterior world to an essential core. He expressed such a feeling in skeletal figures and atom-like forms. These

creative results, quite distinct from those of his colleagues, do not deny mutual concerns. Indeed, as shown above, Markov, Malevich, Matyushin and Guro were all able to employ styles from previous epochs, while concerning themselves with inner analysis, for the expression of essential universal qualities. Filonov differed in his selection of sources and his compositional analysis. His work was passionately laboured, contrived and less spontaneous than his contemporaries: a product of a process of rationalisation rather than immediate response.

At this time Filonov was working on his theory of "made paintings" and rejecting Cubism for its limited dependence on the visible qualities of an object (i.e. its colour and form). He called instead for the use of a "knowing eye" rather than just a seeing one.[35] Understanding as a prerequesite for sensing and expressing the eternal could only be achieved through intense and dedicated work. The natural result of such work was a painting or drawing made according to its own organic and evolutionary requirements, with its own inner forces as well those of its creator. This interpenetration of man and nature in art most closely allies with the ideas of Guro and Malevich.

Earlier in the year Filonov had exhibited with the Non-Aligned Society of Artists at their first large exhibition.[36] There he had come into contact with Kakabadze, Lasson-Spirova, Kirillova and Pskovitinov. With these artists he founded the Intimate Studio of Painters and Draughtsmen in March 1914.[37] He wrote to Matyushin in early 1914[38] expressing his belief in his own work, that of the addressee, and the "zaum realism" of Malevich - to the exclusion of

all others outside of the Intimate Studio. The Burlyuks, he claimed, were not "concerned with the new art but with the exploitation of the new art", while Rozanova was described as an "artful dodger".[39]

If the last Union of Youth exhibition lacked the vitality of Larionov and Goncharova, it gained the intensity of Filonov. His passionate labour, almost to the point of obsession, was reflected in his heavily worked paintings. None of his exhibits were given descriptive titles, referring instead to his compositional analysis: i.e. Painting, Half a Painting[40], Six Coloured Drawings (Principle of the painting), Design of a Lubok Picture, Drawing and Sketch. Only in the administrative copy of the catalogue[41] were references to subjects pencilled in. Thus Painting (cat. 133) was called "Russia after 1905"[42] and Design of a Lubok Picture (cat. 135) became "M. i Zh." (abbreviations for "Man" and "Woman"). Another work, Painting (cat. 131), has since received the title Feast of Kings. Filonov's own estimation of the value of this work was reflected in his asking price, which, at 2,400 roubles[43], was more than ten times the average cost of works exhibited (Shkol'nik, for instance asked only 100 roubles for each of his paintings), and well above the other prices of his work. His title, Painting, indicates that he considered this one of the most worked out and complete compositions.

Surprisingly, considering Filonov's fantastic imagery, his work attracted little attention from the critics. As a consequence Feast of Kings (Plate 8.13) is the only exhibit that can be identified with certainty. The nightmarish images of Heads recur

with similar blood-red tones and a dark, heavy atmosphere. Here, however, the naked and sometimes fleshless figures are far more sculptural and primitive. Their gathering around a table laden with fish and fruit is more orderly than the confused placement of figures in Heads. Despite their lack of relations with one another they partake in a common ritual. The canvas is filled with their oppressive, dehumanised solemnity - a feeling that is enhanced by the distortions of the figures. With its multiple symbolic references to various art forms it is clear that Filonov uniquely interpreted many areas of interest to his contemporaries. Thus the influence of stone baba sculptures is evident, especially in the face of the highlighted female figure second from the left at the back; reference is made to Bosch's grotesque figures; and the arm gestures, the rich red and gold colour tones and the order of the line of figures behind the table can be related to Russian icons. Filonov sought a realism (like Malevich), as he himself called it[44], that was essentially cerebral. Reference to the visual world, as earlier, was to be primarily artificial in order to emphasise the distinctly creative process of art.

Although the identity of the Half Paintings is no longer known, one critic described them as populated by "an infinite number of figures of various sizes, which have no connections of any sort between one another"[45], clearly in keeping with the tendency expressed in Heads and The Feast of Kings. Similar concerns are evident in Man and Woman (cat. 135?, Plate 8.15).[46] Here Filonov has adapted another sort of primitive art to his own - the lubok. This is evident, for example, in the disproportionately

small row of primitive figures along the bottom edge of the composition. The differences in scale and sizes are not accompanied by any attempt to accommodate them within spatial recession. The rural peasant order of the lower line of figures, who are led away by some top-hatted urban figures, contrasts with the towering, artificial and chaotic city world above. Figures and buildings are stacked up on each other. A barred window represents the imprisonment such a world creates for the human psyche. Figures are emaciated and deformed. The scene is flanked in the top corners by two dehumanised kings sitting on thrones. Multiple viewpoints create an interplay of ambiguous spatial relations and light. Colour, compared with Filonov's previous work, is softened to light blues, sandy buff and muted reds. While the two figures floating on the picture surface appear as smoothly carved ivory the king and throne to the right are marked by a facetted linearity. Both the country and city order evoked are lands of fools. In this way Filonov retains his sense of symbolism.

Rozanova's seventeen exhibits showed, as did her illustrations to The Union of Youth and Kruchenykh's Futurist booklets during the year, an abandonment of the Fauvist Neo-Primitivism seen at the previous Union of Youth exhibition. Some new works were grouped together as "Ways and Characters of Psychical Movements (Experiment in the Analysis of My Own Creative Work)", indicating the process of interiorization that Rozanova had discussed in "The Bases of the New Creative Work". Titles could be deliberately absent (cat. 116) or refer to abstract states of being: Dissonance, Landscape-Inertia

(see below). Others retained more specific reference to external reality: e.g. Construction of a House, Embankment, Portrait of the Poet A.E. Kruchenykh, Circus. Of these Rozanova put the highest monetary value on Circus[47] and Embankment.[48]

Construction of a House (cat. 102, Plate 8.15) continued the primitivism seen in Smithy a year earlier, and may even have belonged to the same series. Again the figures are created from flat curvilinear planes, and the horses and cart, cut off by the bottom edge of the canvas, directly refer to the earlier work. However, here there is a new disregard for geometric perspective as the picture is packed with a sense of vertical growth similar to Filonov's Man and Woman. Despite the bold linearity of Rozanova's work she suggests, like Filonov, the degradation and alienation of city life for workers and animals alike. The figures are faceless and attain a primitive monotony of repeated movement.

Descriptions of Embankment hint at a new application of Futurist principles:

> If you take a few oblique lines, something like a hull of a steamship and set them against a few perpendiculars as well as some other lines, so that you could call them funnels and then intersect the canvas with lines that have been struck upon so that the author may cry in reply to the enquiring glance of the observer "Yes, that is the rigging!", then you have before you Rozanova's Embankment.[49]

While Yasinskii had sought the recognisable in the work, Rostislavov pointed out the painterly and self-sufficient interests of the artist:

> In Embankment it is as if the most vivid impressions, not only of that which you see from one point of view but also that which you know and see from others, are summed up. But where in this chaos, united in one whole for the artist, are means for its perception by the spectator? Are these means worked upon or is the "infection" of the spectator considered

unnecessary and the complete isolation of the artist propagandized?[50]

Such descriptions have much in common with Rozanova's Port (Plate 8.16), the title of another of her exhibits (cat.103). Here the visual elements of masts, sails, rigging, cogwheels, and letters fuse into an integrated disorder. By comparison, Man in the Street (cat.105, Plate 8.17) is much more dynamic and Futurist. In this, and other urban landscapes of the period, Rozanova's palette is subdued - greys, browns and black dominate, as if evocative of the primary impression left by such landscapes. As such, Rozanova's Futurism does not evoke a love for the city but rather a concern for its dehumanising effects.

The figure in Man in the Street is fragmented into a series of disjointed colour planes. These appear directly inspired by Carrà's Plastic Transcendences (1912, Plate 8.18), shown in Berlin at Der Sturm's Erster deutscher Herbstsalon (where the Burlyuks, Larionov and Goncharova also exhibited) in September 1913. They intersect at all angles, giving a sense of the street entering the man. This fusion of the subject with his surroundings is further encouraged by the repetition of parts of the figure and the multiple viewpoint. Thus his left arm appears at once by his side and behind him; his nose is in profile; while his face has disappeared altogether. Elements of writing, steps and buildings surround and penetrate the figure. This retention of visual elements appears to be a response to Le Fauconnier's call, published in The Union of Youth, for a work of art to retain just enough reference to visual reality as the artist feels necessary.[51]

Such a reference could then act as a link between the artist's spirit and the material.

Dissonance (cat. 115, Plate 8.19), part of Rozanova's 'Ways and Characters of Psychical Movement' series, shows 'directional lines' in chaotic order. Moving at all angles across the canvas they materialize the non-material world and abandon visual reality in clear imitation of the Italian Futurists. Such an abstract evocation of movement in space represents the new self-sufficient concentration on creative principles advocated by Rozanova in her article (the 'Abstract Principle'). Simultaneously, it distinguishes her as Malevich's partner in the Cubo-Futurist analysis of form.

While the final Union of Youth exhibition was dominated by the innovations of the previous three artists, and Malevich and Rozanova in particular, the appearance of their work was not totally isolated. This becomes clear when it is compared to exhibits by Moscow and Kievan participants in the show, i.e. the Burlyuks, Morgunov, Klyun, Ekster, Grishchenko, Tatlin and Shekhtel. However, the work of these artists is less well known and little seems to have survived.

Tatlin contributed four works: three "laconic, in the Japonist fashion, and masterly"[52] ink drawings and, possibly the most remarkable exhibit in the show, Composition Analysis (Oil) (cat. 127). These appear not to reflect the extent of his exploration into mixed media construction, which had commenced after his European travels and visit to Picasso earlier in 1913.[53] However, a pencil and gouache sketch also known as Composition

Analysis (Plate 8.20), and quite possibly a study for the oil at the Union of Youth's show, reduces form to a set of carefully selected and proportioned planes. The interaction of these abstract elements appears arbitrary at first glance, but, as Zhadova has pointed out[54], in fact what is depicted is the constructive basis for a Madonna and Infant composition. Whether Tatlin used as his model an icon (Plate 8.21) or one of Cranach's Madonnas[55], is questionable since the angle of the line, the inclination of the heads and the position of the infant's legs are suggestive of both. Indeed, Zhadova has proposed that Tatlin synthesised the two:

> Tatlin, aware of the tenets of Cubism, has brought into his own composition the 'open' rhythm of spatial tension, creating a new unity based on the principle of dynamic balance... Tatlin laid bare the classical method of creating a picture, at the same time reinterpreting it and giving it new constructive essence... The symbiosis of the refined rhythmics of icon painting and the stereoscopic effect of mathematically exact Renaissance compositional techniques, created in Tatlin's art 'genes' from which it was possible later for 'material culture', Tatlin's organic constructivism, to evolve.[56]

This convincing argument suggests that Composition Analysis marked a turning point in Tatlin's art. Indeed, the constructive distribution of the pictorial elements in Tatlin's painting, while far more rationalised than Malevich's or Rozanova's compositions, indicates a heightened sensitivity to the material and retains a symbolic and spiritual strength, in keeping with his artistic milieu.[57]

The Burlyuks continued along much the same lines as the previous year, indicating a concern with compositional principles and folk art but lapsing into decoration rather than analysis.

Vladimir Burlyuk's 'minimalist' Self-Portrait from Two Points of View (the Revelation of Orange and Blue Colours) (cat. 4) was described thus:

> If you look at a man and see nothing except orange and blue stripes, then with two brushes you dip one into orange paint the other into blue and you draw on the canvas two oblique stripes - then you get the portrait of Burlyuk.[58]

David Burlyuk contributed just three works including Running Horse (Primitive) and Image from Three Points of View. The third work, Conductor of the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre (the opera "Lakme") (cat. 8, Plate 8.22) uses a Futurist fragmentation of forms into small facetted planes. There are also, as in Rozanova's exhibits, a few visual reminders of the subject (two huge black arms at the top right of the canvas, a pair of eyes in the centre, a treble clef, instrument strings). Such a pictorial solution of an orchestral theme is reminiscent of Romanovich's Military Orchestra (Plate 8.23) shown at Larionov's "No. 4" exhibition in March 1914.[59]

Two new Ukrainian artists appeared with the Union of Youth at their 1913-1914 exhibition - Grishchenko and Klyun. Rostislavov's brief description of the "entirely cultured" Grishchenko, suggests a debt to the Cubists: "In the integrated and well considered works... Yard, Piazza, the still-lifes and the especially beautiful Jug and Tomatoes, the definite influence of the newest French artists is felt".[60] Certainly, Grishchenko appears to have known the work of Picasso well[61], but without further visual evidence it is impossible to assess the extent or specific source of his borrowing.

Ivan Vasil'evich Klyun (also known as Klyunkov and Klyunov,

1873-1943) was recommended by his friend Malevich, with whom he was working at this time.[62] Until 1910, Klyun had been a symbolist.[63] However, his friendship with Malevich appears to have helped him turn to a Cubist idiom. He exhibited just two works, The Sawyer and The Jug.[64] The Jug (cat.50, Plate 8.25) can be described as a Cubo-Futurist work. Underlying the composition is a linear grid divided into square and rectangular blocks. This is dissected by oblique lines - both curved and straight - that add a spherical dynamism to the work. Colour is reduced to soft greys, blues and browns. A uniform light spreads over the centre of the composition striking the jug. The severed image of the jug, which appears to be a large pitcher on a tray, is seen from several viewpoints. Thus, beside the two upright views in the centre, half of the jug lies top down along a diagonal line to the bottom left corner.

Klyun's colleague Morgunov also contributed to the Union of Youth in 1913. He displayed fifteen pictures with titles ranging from The Threshers, Paris and The Dance to Man and Wife, In the Tea Room and The Oak Tree. Several of these had been shown at the Donkey's Tail exhibition in 1912. The variety, ostensibly including multi-figure compositions and landscapes, hints at the difficulty of identifying Morgunov's stylistic persuasion at this time. This is confounded by the critics' silence. Only one review noted that Morgunov's work was "uneven" and praised In the Park (cat.76) for its "realistic skill".[65] However, Morgunov, working closely with Malevich, was now abandoning Fauvism in favour of a Cubo-Futurist approach.

At the Union of Youth the contrast with his previous Fauvist

forms and colours was probably evident in two works, View from the Balcony and The Aviator's Study (cat. 85, Plate 8.26).[66] The latter is a small gouache consisting of planar forms painted in subdued browns and greys on a geometricised linear grid. Within the abstract planes are identifiable objects, including two faces, papers and a ball. These are crossed, with collage effect, by a simple model plane and a hatchet. The word "Polski" is added in the top left corner. Two decorated black boxes stand out from the composition like labels. The theme of aviation, a perfect symbol for the rejection of the old world order (as seen in Victory over the Sun below) was of increasing interest to the Cubo-Futurists. In June 1913 Malevich had published, possibly the first Cubo-Futurist drawing, Simultaneous Death of a Man in an Aeroplane and on the Railway in Kruchenykh's Explodity which has much in common with Morgunov's use of the subject.[67] However, the indications of objects in Morgunov's work are greater, and from the worried young woman's face, the stern man in the top hat and the reference to Poland, it is possible to speculate a link with Kamenskii's plane crash in Chenstokhova, Poland on 29 April 1912.[68]

Aleksandra Ekster returned to the Union of Youth for her first appearance at one of its exhibitions since the Riga show of 1910. Again a link with Larionov's "No. 4" is established since two of Ekster's four exhibits (Kiev and Square in Genoa) were also shown at the Moscow show. All of her works were landscapes. According to Rostislavov they had "attractive colouring" and were representative of the "very latest trends".[69] By this time Ekster was emerging from the influence of Léger to be attracted to the

dynamism of the Italian Futurists. This is evident in Genoa[70] (cat. 164?, Plate 8.27), where Ekster has deconstructed the architectural forms of the city, representing them by dynamic intersecting planes and a series of flattened arches. However, the decorative effect with its fracturing of the picture surface into small geometric planes, the buff, black and red colouring and occasional references to the visual world, are closer to Delaunay, in his City of Paris (1912 Plate 8.30).[71] Ekster, who had been in Paris several times since 1910, and exhibited at both the 1912 Salon des Indépendants and Section d'Or, abandons, like Delaunay, the Cubist use line to define form or build up volumes. In Genoa, it is a Futurist study of form and space that takes over.

The works of the aforementioned artists represent the most original side of the Union of Youth at their seventh exhibition. As has been shown, they are intimately linked by a new study and interpretation of developments in Cubism and Futurism. Although symbolism is still present in this, it represented a considerable break with the group's previous Neo-Primitivism. But it is essential to remember that to a large extent these artists were not Union of Youth members, or if they were, they had only recently joined. Many were still living in Moscow. Thus although the public identity of the Union of Youth was inextricably altered by these artists, they did not represent the main core of the group. While Filonov, Rozanova, Matyushin and Markov (who was not exhibiting) act as a link between the Moscow and Petersburg artists, the appearance of the group was still very much influenced

by the more isolated Spandikov, Shleifer, Shkol'nik, Zel'manova, Potipaka and Dydyshko.[72] Any sense of Cubism or Futurism in the work of these artists in 1913 was far more subdued, if it existed at all, than that of their relatively new colleagues.

Potipaka appears little changed since the previous year, although once again the lack of visual evidence precludes conclusions. He exhibited nine canvases which paid tribute to his "great reserves of fantasy"[73] and bore comparison to Filonov in their complexity of composition.[74] Again Rostislavov found comparison with Stelletskii and Vrubel in the stylizations of Youths, Fools, and The Grinders, but also noted their "confident and skilfully composed figures which still speak of the old canons".[75] His use of prosaic themes is clear in the titles Zarathustra and Firing at the Target.

Spandikov's lost About Landscape and About Colour, suggest an analysis of painterly form. His other paintings use curious, inexplicable symbols to convey their objects. Thus Time (cat. 122) showed an apparently zaum-like concern with the fourth dimension: "He has depicted time in the form of a naked female figure whose stomach has the appearance of a spurting fountain. Why is this time?".[76] Such an apparently alogical association of form and subject matter is reiterated in Easter (cat. 121): "A huge blue egg, perhaps that of an ostrich is set in the middle of a huge canvas on a yellowish tendril".[77] That painted eggs were an Easter tradition is the only link of the composition and its title. The "yellowish tendril" was described by another critic as "a gramophone trumpet"[78] and it was perhaps from this that speculation arose

about the musical qualities of the work.[79] It should also be noted that Spandikov continued his sketch-like quality in both his drawings and paintings[80], which led Rostislavov to call his style "non-composed realism".[81]

A Fauvist primitivism was retained by Shleifer and Shkol'nik. Both contributed several provincial scenes. An interest in primitive art is suggested by Shleifer's "very original"[82] Smith's Signboard (cat.160). However, a tendency to decoration was evident in Bakhchisarai[83] and Still-Life. the latter being marked by its "over-sweet Sudeikin or Anisfel'd colours".[84] In Shkol'nik's The Provinces (Plate 8.29) the flattened buildings and spatial ambiguity appear essentially as a play with stylistic device rather than the analysis of structure seen in his lithographs for The Union of Youth (see Plates 7.2-7.7). However, Shkol'nik does display a concern with signboard art, and this is emphasized by the prominence of the various shop signs: "'The Dream' Guest-House", "Barber", "Dance Class", "Bread and Fish", "Tailor" and "Water and Kvass". Here the provinciality is evoked by the use of old, local words such as "tserul'nya" for barber and a mistake in the spelling of dance class (spelt "tontsklass" instead of "tantsklass"), which recalls the mispelling in Tatlin's Naval Uniforms (Plate 4.29).

Zel'manova also retained an interest in primitivism. Of her sixteen exhibits[85], that which found most admiration, Golgotha (Imitation of the Siena School) (cat.46), indicated a study of medieval principles. Denisov found the work too encumbered by graphic and decorative qualities[86], but other critics admired both its painterliness and the originality of its use of Italian

primitive sources.[87] The majority of her exhibits were landscape studies, described by Rostislavov as "well generalised" and following the "latest aims".[88] She also contributed a number of single-figure compositions, including a "green Female Model and a blue Self-Portrait" (Plate 8.30), which showed little change from Margueritte, shown at the start of 1912.[89]

Rostislavov found Dydyshko akin to Grishchenko as an "extremely cultured artist", but besides noting his watercolours as "interesting" added nothing about their composition.[90] He contributed fifteen works - thirteen watercolours and two oils. The most important of these appears to have been House in Krupelyakh, which, being transferred from an exhibition at the Dobychina salon, appeared ex-catalogue.[91] Having graduated from the Academy in November 1912, Dydyshko now felt freer to exhibit and less inclined to compromise. He had been drawn to Impressionist landscape since his early days as a student in Tbilisi, and this persuasion, suppressed during his period of study, first under Ažbé in Munich, then under Kardovskii in Petersburg, remained a continual interest for him. Virtually all of his exhibits at the Union of Youth were landscapes, painted in a variety of styles. Yasinskii described the change of direction that was now apparent in Dydyshko:

> I don't know what is guiding such a leading artist as Dydyshko, whose brushes can make colours sing and sound like gold, and sparkle like gems. I don't know what guides him to horrifically simplify his palette with an abundance of grey-muddy colours and to fracture the perspective in the fog of Cubism that is completely alien to the Russian soul.
>
> Undoubtedly Dydyshko... searches intensively and with agonizing anguish for that 'something' about which Corot spoke. But maybe he's searching like the man who looked for his gauntlets when all the time they were under his belt. The

> lack of taste, the artificiality and the lack of imagination in Dydyshko's landscapes... Of course painting is not photography... But what can one say about painting that lies? Does the artist really have the right to depict a pine tree in the shape of algae with circular fronds.[92]

Although such a description implies that Dydyshko was experimenting with Cubist principles, surviving reproductions of his work give little indication of this. For example, Sheds (1913, Cat.27? Plate 8.31) and Landscape (cat.34? Plate 8.33) relate more to the final years (1906-7) of Braque's Fauve period, when his debt to Cézanne and Gauguin was giving way to a more structural kind of work, than to his Cubist work.[93] In Landscape every shape is carefully and heavily outlined. Colour has become sombre - "a general pale greyish-green tone".[94] Form is radically simplified, as Dydyshko abandons his Impressionistic open-air painting, in order to subjugate the composition to the loose undulating rhythms of the fields and trees.

Matyushin's 1913 exhibits consisted of two "musical" works, Red Peal and Pardon Peal.[95] V.A., the Ogonek critic, found them an exception to the rest of the exhibition. Rather than being a manifestation of some idea, he regarded them as a reflection of "genuine mood".[96] Rostislavov was more specific about the second work: "Matyushin's musical painting of pink and yellow windings encircled by blue, strangely conveys the impression of the 'Pardon peal'".[97] According to Bowlt this and Red Peal were painted at Old Peterhof in the summer of 1913 under the impression of the bells from a nearby monastery.[98] The descriptions imply that Matyushin had already moved towards the non-objective Painterly-Musical Constructions of 1918.[99] His theory concerning the extension of

vision allowed him to materialise sound and the works shown at the Union of Youth exhibition were perhaps the first fruits of such a process. The description of Matyushin's work and the nature of his ideas in 1913 show a marked similarity with those of František Kupka in his Disks of Newton.[100] Both artists combined reference to music and the non-objective study of colour with mystical associations. However, given the atmosphere of creative enquiry that enveloped both Paris and Petersburg, it remains possible that Matyushin and Kupka reached their painterly solutions for similar problems independently.[101]

Two other artists, Puni and Al'tman, should also be briefly mentioned, though neither as yet indicated any true innovation. Both had only started exhibiting a year earlier, and both had recent experience of artistic life in Paris. Puni's three works at the exhibition went unnoticed by the critics. Not given titles in the catalogue, they were apparently called Walk in the Sun, Susanna and the Old Men and The Reaper.[102] Walk in the Sun (Plate 8.33), apparently painted in 1912, is a Fauvist landscape with flattened forms and bright, artificial colours. The buildings and figures lack detail. A swaying rhythm underlies the forms. The brushwork is bold and loose. Drawings of the other two works were reproduced in The Roaring Parnassus, a Futurist almanac published in February 1914 by Matyushin. Susanna and the Old Men can be related to Larionov's work. The use of a prostitute theme and the scrawled, childish line recall Larionov's 'infantile primitivism'.

Natan Isayevich Al'tman (1889-1970) had lived in Paris from late 1910 to 1912, studying at Maria Vasil'eva's Russian Academy

and in Baranov's studio. He made his debut with the Union of Youth by showing three paintings that date from this period (1911). Almost certainly they reflected his recent acquaintance with the work of the French modernists. A Small Ukrainian town [Mestechko] and The Outskirts of Paris, if judged by his surviving landscapes of 1911, were probably Fauvist. The Jewish Funeral (cat. 2, Plate 8.34), on the other hand, uses a new architectonic sense and a far more subdued colouring. The figures surrounding the corpse are bonded together by a translucent web that materializes their communal grief. The deceased, shrouded in a black cloth, is Al'tman's grandfather.[103] The shadows and edges of the web are straight-edged. Similarly the faces of three of the mourners are rough-diamond shaped, an angularity suggestive of primitive art. A sombre, cold tonality, of buff, brown and black, pervades the work. The unmodelled forms are generalised and used as objects for the contrast of mass. The lack of facial features stresses that the subject is not just a particular event but a symbolic evocation of the suffering mankind has to endure.

The Union of Youth's seventh exhibition can be seen as the last general showing of the state of the group. More can be learned about the group's identity than from any other event in which it was involved during its final season. It comprised a new and volatile mixture of styles, from Fauvism and primitivism, to Cubism, Futurism, and possibly even Orphism. This cocktail proved too much to contain and led swiftly to the group's disbandment (see Conclusion). Although the group had now disassociated itself from

the Knave of Diamonds and Larionov's Target, it lost none of its previous variety and, with Malevich and Tatlin reaching climaxes in their experiments, lost none of its vitality. The new emphasis on compositional structure, i.e. the process of making the object that is the painting, did little to diminish the symbolism that had imbued the group's art from the start.

The Futurist Poets (on Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow). Lectures by Burlyuk, Kruchenykh and Mayakovsky. Troitskii Theatre 20 November 1913.

The Union of Youth's last exhibition signified an energy and purpose within the group, that led it to organise several final ventures at the end of 1913. These provided an opportunity for a further public showing of the developments in members' art and theory. However, active participants were relatively few, and therefore these events were as unrepresentative of the Union of Youth's general persuasions as the exhibition. This is especially important to remember given the disproportionate, though justifiable, amount of study that one of the events (Victory over the Sun) has stimulated.

On 1 November the group announced that a series of lectures and discussions would take place at the exhibition.[104] These were to include readings by Markov, and Burlyuk's "The Creative Work of Pavel Filonov" (discussed above). Also Grishchenko was to give a lecture on Picasso at the Troitskii Theatre on 20 November. A series of Futurist theatre performances was advertised, including Vladimir Mayakovsky's A Tragedy, Kruchenykh's Victory over the Sun, a posthumous production of a play by Guro, and plays by Khlebnikov and Nikolai Burlyuk. In the event, the Union of Youth's final activities consisted of the following: an evening of "Futurist Poets" (Burlyuk, Kruchenykh and Mayakovsky) on 20 November; two performances each of Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy and Victory over the Sun; and the publishing of Markov's essays Faktura, The Chinese Flute and The Art of Easter Island.

During the autumn and winter of 1913-1914 many lectures and

evenings dedicated to Futurism and avant-garde art were organised in Petersburg. They, rather than the exhibitions, dominated the season and stimulated public debate. Kornei Chukovskii's lecture, "Art of the Days to Come", on 5 October had done much to initiate the discussion. Kruchenykh and Mayakovsky had both appeared; Kruchenykh with a carrot in his buttonhole and Mayakovsky in a yellow jacket. Many such events ('lecture' evenings and 'debates') followed, where Kul'bin, David Burlyuk, Pyast, Yakulov, Shklovskii, Le-Dantyu and Zdanevich, all appeared championing their own interpretations of the latest trends in modern art. Poetry evenings were held by Severyanin and the Hylaean poets. The mood at these events was one of excitement and tension, as if a new energy was being found and released. The idea of Futurist drama began to circulate. In Moscow during Goncharova's exhibition the first play, "The Dance of the Streets" by Bolshakov, with Larionov's decorations and Arkhangelskii's music, opened on 6 October. This was a non-sequential drama depicting city night-life. Two weeks later, on 19 October, the "Pink Lantern" Futurist cabaret opened in Moscow, based on the idea of the "Futu" theatre discussed by Larionov in early September.[105]

The first Union of Youth evening of the season was not originally intended to be dedicated to Futurist poetry: 20 November had been marked, as mentioned above, for Grishchenko's talk on Picasso. It was then proposed that Grishchenko would give his lecture, together with others by Burlyuk ("On the Selling and Buying of Paintings"), Kruchenykh and Mayakovsky, in an evening

dedicated to both painting and poetry.[106]

Ultimately, the evening was advertised as "On the Latest Russian Literature. The Futurist Poets (On Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow)".[107] It therefore ended up differing little from other Futurist gatherings of the day. Indeed, a very similar meeting, entitled "Evening of Futurists-Speechcreators" had been held on 13 October in Moscow; Burlyuk had read his lecture "Pushkin and Khlebnikov" in Petersburg on 3 November; and the Cubo-Futurist poets were to appear again in Petersburg on 29 November.[108]

The evening indicates the Union of Youth's continuing support for new literature, and in particular, its close relationship with the Hylaean poets. Yet the majority of the group's members, including Spandikov, Shleifer, Dydyshko, Zel'manova, Potipaka and Morgunov, still participated little in spheres other than easel painting. Thus it would be a mistake to consider the desire for a synthesis of the arts, let alone a synthesis on Futurist principles, universal within the group. Nevertheless, the Union of Youth's most prominent artists, Rozanova, Malevich, Filonov and Shkol'nik, freely moved into Futurist theatrical and book design; David Burlyuk took up Futurist poetry and Markov analysed poetic principles.

The Futurist poets, readily available and practised orators, were capable of attracting large crowds and thereby bringing in money. The Union of Youth for their part, were happy to oblige the poets with a platform, while at the same time perpetrating their desire to propagate new art. Sympathy with the poets was high and the evening also served as an opportunity to advertise another

Union of Youth sponsored event - the forthcoming "Futurist Spectacle" at the Luna Park Theatre (banners adorned the stage and posters the theatre foyer). Yet many of the techniques and effects employed bore no relation to the comparatively conservative art work of many Union of Youth artists on view at the exhibition.

The poetry evening, like previous Union of Youth public meetings, was something of a disappointment. The audience, who by now were primed for scandal by earlier Futurist antics, found themselves being amusingly entertained - as if the Futurist poets had become something of an alternative comedy act. Any substance and depth to the their words was lost due to the deliberate lack of rationalised thought and analysis.

The essence of the evening appears to have been the following: Mayakovsky appeared, again in his yellow and black striped jacket, denounced those who discussed the Futurists, proclaimed the necessity of the city in poetry and pronounced a few neologistic phrases; Kruchenykh, "with indescribable familiarity, bordering on impudence, pronounced incoherent nonsense about the meeting of creative work and science".[109] He also "convinced the public that "irregularities decorate correct speech like spit decorates the road.""[110] He talked about the rhyming of "korova" with "teatr" and the abbreviation of words, according to the American principle that time is money (thus "nravitsya" becomes "nra" and "chelovek" "cheek"[111]). Kruchenykh ended by looking at the clock and running from the stage without finishing his words. Then David Burlyuk appeared with his usual condemnations of the critics and on this occasion praise for Khlebnikov's work (Khlebnikov was sitting on

the stage and bowed to the public). His lecture differed little from the one he had given on 3 November.[112] One further device that these Futurists used, that was also employed by Larionov and Goncharova in Moscow, was the painting of the face - a symbol of their precocious desire to extend the bounds of visual and literary art: "Among the public paced a Futurist looking like a tattooed Indian: on one of his cheeks was drawn an arrow and on the other an anchor."[113]

Victory over the Sun 3 and 5 December 1913 Luna Park Theatre, 39 Ofitserskaya Street.

Neither Victory over the Sun, nor Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, were conceived by the Union of Youth in the same way as "Khoromnyya Deistva" had been. Rather, individual artists and poets, even if they had been introduced to one another by the Union of Youth and were now the mainstays of its progressive direction, met outside of the group to create their respective dramas. The Union of Youth was then brought in to organise the stage production. Posters designed by Rozanova and David Burlyuk appeared, proclaiming "The First Performance of Futurist Theatre in the World". Shkol'nik and Filonov were brought in to make designs for Vladimir Mayakovsky.

It is tempting to regard the performances as the climactic event in the history of the Union of Youth. Certainly, with their call for the establishment of a new era with new values, they can be seen to aptly predict a radical change in the group, if not its subsequent sudden dissolution. It is also possible to see them as an avant-garde progression from "Khoromnyya Deistva", reflecting a sustained interest in uniting the arts as well as a shift to the more radically modern.

Very valuable scholarly work has already been done on the significance of the occasion, especially with regard to the combination of Kruchenykh's zaum text, Malevich's ingenious designs and the concept of four-dimensional space.[114] While the critical importance of this is acknowledged below, in order not to repeat much of what has already been said, the emphasis here is switched

to the role of the Union of Youth in making the production possible. This has seldom been examined. Writers generally assume that Victory over the Sun marks a definitive outlook by the group, without considering that the Union of Youth was still a heterogenous collection of individuals searching in a variety of directions. It is more correct to consider it the most striking and innovative example of one of the group's persuasions and, as such, far in advance of much of the group's work. It should be seen, not essentially as a statement by the group, but as an outcome of the Union of Youth's unchanging desire to support new art in whatever way the times dictated appropriate.

The suggestion that the ideas for both Victory over the Sun and Vladimir Mayakovsky came from outwith the Union of Youth, is upheld by a letter from Malevich to Matyushin after their Uusikirkko "conference" with Kruchenykh in July 1913:

> ... Mayakovsky and I have a suggestion for you and I hope that Kruchenykh and you will join us. Thus, we are commissioning you to make a written application on behalf of all our theatrical work to the Union of Youth for backing us in the first show...[115]

Kruchenykh confirms the nature of the Union of Youth's support: "The Union of Youth seeing the domination of the theatrical veterans and taking into account the extraordinary effect of our evenings, decided to put the work on in grand style and to show the world 'the first Futurist theatre'."[116]

Matyushin noted that the idea for the opera emerged during the Uusikirkko conference and that "the Union of Youth committee finally decided to perform Victory over the Sun and the tragedy Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy after many difficulties and

discussions."[117] As with previous Union of Youth events arrangements appear to have been left until the last moment. Malevich had complained to Shkol'nik about the lack of organisation in getting the Moscow paintings to Petersburg for the contemporaneous exhibition just a month earlier[118] and now he had reason to complain once more. It was not the Union of Youth who were to blame, as Matyushin points out, but they still had difficulty in persuading ignorant theatre management and workers of their purpose. Malevich created "twenty-four large pieces of decor in four days" while "receiving the most vulgar mockery and idiotic laughter" and then the costumes were not finished according to his desires.[119] The lack of preparation also affected the players - students were brought in just a few days before the first performance and the amateur singers employed had little time to rehearse. Furthermore, finding a pianist to play the "broken down, out of tune piano" proved a problem.[120]

In 1913 the attempt to challenge and renew the very concepts of beauty and art, that had been a mark of the Union of Youth's approach since its foundation, gained a Futurist orientation in the work of Rozanova and Malevich. The presentation of Victory over the Sun, an "opera" which its author, Kruchenykh, later described as expressing "the victory of technology over cosmic and biological powers"[121], was a manifestation of the new Futurist tendency within the group. It marked the group's support for Russian Futurist principles in particular. As far as Matyushin, the author of the music, was concerned, Victory over the Sun continued his interest, expressed in his editing of Du Cubisme, in the expansion of

perception: "The opera has a deep, inner content, mocking at the old romanticism and excessive verbiage... it is a victory over the old, established notion about the sun as "beauty".[122]

The advertisements that appeared in the newspapers (Plate 8.35) were marked by a variety of traditional typesets and a small reproduction of a graphic work by David Burlyuk (previously published in the second A Trap for Judges). This picture depicted a man, a horse and a tree, together with several abstract waves of movement. Each figure is viewed from a totally different angle, corresponding to the principle seen earlier in Burlyuk's Maritime Landscape (Plate 6.8). The figures are flattened and geometricised, and sometimes, as in the case of the horse, given extra limbs. This imitates nineteenth century Russian folk tapestry motifs. There is no modelling and the background is left blank. By late 1913, and in comparison with Rozanova's poster (Plate 8.36), such techniques and borrowings looked decidedly dated.

Closely following the abstraction of form seen in works such as Man in the Street (Plate 8.17), Rozanova has depicted a spirallic vortex. An inward, turning motion is apparent. The poster, a lithographic print, uses three colours - red, green and black, together with bare patches of the off-white paper. Although it is hard to discern figurative elements, the letters "Futu tea" (standing for "Futurist theatre") are evident in the centre of the work. They are placed on the breast of a man. In the top left corner a face, two eyes and a top hat, comprised of very few thick and straight black lines, are visible. A hand, apparently holding

a bunch of tickets is in the top right corner. So, from the confused medley of abstract planes, a representation of the Futurist theatre ticket seller appears. The domination of the new plastic principles, the disfiguration of form and the dynamism of the work, directly relate to the message contained in the two performances - i.e. the forthcoming overthrow of out-dated artistic values.

Kruchenykh's libretto was essentially a zaum text, written, he claimed, "imperceptibly".[123] It is full of alogisms, neologisms, abbreviations, and confused grammar, putting into dramatic practice the new independence of words from meanings already employed by himself and Khlebnikov in their poetry. The monologues of the characters are frequently disconnected and a sequential development through the action is difficult to perceive. Even so there exists a 'plot' of sorts, in which the sun is captured. The sun acts as a symbol for such notions as the old beauty, visibility, the illusion of three-dimensional reality and "Apollo, the god of rationality and clarity, the light of logic".[124] No longer will man be dependent on these illusive principles. This meaning is conveyed by action and words in which the absurd is clearly controlled. In an interview given a few days before the performance, Matyushin and Malevich gave the following account of the work:

> The opera Victory over the Sun is devoid of any developing plot. Its idea is the overthrow of one of the greatest artistic values - the sun in this case. The world has been put in order and the boundaries between separate things and objects fixed. There exist in peoples' consciousness definite, prescribed human ideas about the relations between them. The Futurists wish to be free of this world of orderliness, from the process of thought in it. They want to turn this world into chaos, established values are to be broken to pieces and from these pieces they want to create new

values, giving new generalizations, opening up new unexpected and invisible relations. So here is the sun - it is a value from earlier times - it therefore constrains them and they want to overthrow it. The process of its overthrow is the subject of the opera. It is expressed by the players in words and sounds.[125]

It is worthwhile briefly comparing both the action and the participants in Victory over the Sun[126] with that of "Khoromnyya Deistva" and Tsar Maksem'yan in particular. Characters in Kruchenykh's opera include two budetlyan strongmen, Nero and Caligula in one person, a traveller, Some Ill-Intentioned One, a Bully, Turkish soldiers, Sportsmen, Gravediggers, the Speaker on the Telephone, the New Ones, the Cowards, a Reciter, a Fat Man, an Old Inhabitant, an Attentive Worker, a Young Man and an Aviator. Such personages, the relations between them and the plot as far as it exists, show parallels with Tsar Maksem'yan. Both, by means of excessive and sometimes unprovoked violence, depict the overthrow of an established and tyrannical order. Characters display common traits. Thus the Tsar seems roughly to equate to Nero and Caligula, Venus to the Sun; Anika the Warrior has a function not dissimilar to the Ill-Intentioned One; the gravedigger appears in both dramas; the skomorokhi recall the chorus of Sportsmen; and the Cock, with its final cock-a-doodle-do announcing the rebirth of dawn and a new life, is a primitive equivalent of the Futurist Aviator who comes onto the stage at the end of the opera to cry "Ha ha ha I am alive" and sing a military song of single syllables. Neo-Primitivism then, is alive and well even in the Union of Youth's most radical appearance.

Although characters of the two dramas cannot be fully

identified with one another, the essence and non-constructive form of both works, including the "interlude" activities of the chorus/skomorokhi and the gravediggers, appear one and the same. In this respect Bowlt is right in his conclusion that Victory over the Sun is "fully within the balagan tradition".[127] Even Matyushin's discordant music (based on quarter tone and simultaneous movement of four independent voices in an attempt to "destroy the old sound, the boring diatonic music"[128]) sung by flat voices and played on an untuned piano would have recalled the amateur aspect of the balagan and Tsar Maksem'yan in particular. Victory over the Sun was a "Futuristic jamboree"[129] which, like "Khoromnyya Deistva", was concerned with displacing the notions of high theatre and entertaining "more by noise, movement and colour... than by the logic of the plot line."[130]

Malevich's stage and costume designs have been abundantly examined recently.[131] Through the combination of these, careful use of lighting, the zaum text and the discordant music, the creators of Victory over the Sun sought an embodiment of Uspenskii's fourth unit of psychic life - 'higher intuition'. This was the 'real' world where people could understand the incompleteness of the three-dimensional world. As it was attained, four-dimensional space would be be comprehended, together with a new concept of time and a sensation of infinity. The costumes (see Plates 8.37 and 8.38) were highly simplified - to the point sometimes of being plain geometric figures. Yet they convey the essential marks of each character very immediately. In many respects they are de-humanised stereotypes. Although this marks

their modernity, it recalls that which had gone before in Tsar Maksem'yan. Both spectacles are imbued with a spontaneity, bright colours and a certain naivety, and both employed cardboard and masks.

For his stage designs (Plates 8.39 and 8.40) Malevich adopted Cubist principles. They have been described by Rudnitsky;

> Malevich painted the backdrops utilizing pure geometric forms: his renowned 'black square' appeared for the first time... alongside straight and curved lines, musical notes, signs resembling question marks. There is no concern for top or bottom, no allusion whatsoever to any particular place of action: the very concept of 'place' in his scenery is disregarded.[132]

Almost all of the stage designs relate to the structure of a tessaract - they comprise squares within a square and are attached by four diagonals between the corners. Whether the space is receeding or advancing is ambiguous. This, together with the simple geometric bodies, refers to the machine age and the perception of the fourth dimension. But this too was not without its references to ancient art, for the format of a square within a square directly relates to the icon and hence to the spirituality of the icon image.

During Khlebnikov's prologue, "Blackcreative Newsettes", read by Kruchenykh, a curtain made of a simple sheet was hung behind the speaker on which were painted "the 'portraits' of Kruchenykh, Malevich and Matyushin themselves".[133] These probably took the Cubist idiom again, as in Malevich's Portrait of Matyushin. Author of the Futurist Opera Victory over the Sun (Plate 8.41).[134] Here, as Compton has pointed out[135], the drawer-front with a keyhole alludes to the Fat Man's words in Victory over the Sun: "Yes,

everything here is not that simple, though at first glance it seems to be a chest of drawers - and that's not all! But then you roam and roam."[136] As in other works, Malevich retains recognisable features among the construction of geometric forms - besides the keyhole there is half a forehead, a fragment of a tie and shirt-collar and a line of shortened white piano keys. Tomashevskii later wrote that the curtain consisted of "conical and spiral forms" similar to those of the backdrops and noted that it was then torn up by the budetlyan strongmen as the action commenced.[137]

The performance itself, despite the roving spotlights picking up relief elements of Malevich's set on random occasions, was less Futurist than that proposed by Larionov in September 1913. While the language, music and sets showed a sharp break with the past, the action, still on a stage and separated from the audience (unlike Tsar Maksem'yan) remained essentially traditional. Larionov's "Futu" theatre, on the other hand, was to revolutionize the action and audience participation: "Spectators will be placed according to the action either on a raised platform in the middle of the hall or above it on a mesh net under the ceiling... in order to see the play from above... during the action the stage floor and decorations will be in continual movement".[138] The cacophonic flute music that was to accompany the action and the actors having other actors in the role of their hats, shoes, trousers etc., were to create "something like a "decorative leitmotif""[139]

Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy. 2 and 4 December 1913 Luna Park Theatre.

Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy was written at the same time as Victory over the Sun and while its author, Mayakovsky, was in close contact with Malevich. Again it refers to the balagan tradition but modernises the situation and speech. It consists of a prologue, two acts and an epilogue. The main character is Mayakovsky himself, while others, played by students, are only fragments of the poet's self. In this fragmentation of the personality the tragedy relates to Larionov's "Futu" and Evreinov's monodrama, although in the former the parts are more concerned with the emotional attributes of the player than those of his appearance.

In the short prologue Mayakovsky appears as a prophetic poet in a sad, distorted city. He appeals to the people, saying that he shall give them true happiness and "reveal our new souls" through a universal language. The first act, "City. Merrily", finds Mayakovsky in a city during a beggars' holiday. He tries to comfort the beggars and entertain them but is interrupted by an old man, thousands of years in age, with dried up black cats, who talks about human suffering. This theme is reinforced by the appearance of the "Man without an Ear", the "Man with a Stretched Face", a "Man without an Eye or Leg" and others. Only a "Normal Young Man" pleads for reconciliation with all this suffering so that he may lead a peaceful life.

The second act, "City. Depressing", finds Mayakovsky in a new city dressed as a prince. As in Victory over the Sun, where the

sun is captured outside of the action on the stage, so here the revolt has occurred unobserved by the audience. People approach Mayakovsky with kisses and bundles that turn out to be tears. He takes their burdens and strides off to throw them to the god of storms. But even this city, free from the tragedy of existence is sad, for it is dull and boring. Finally in the short epilogue there is a sense of harlequinade as Mayakovsky sends up the tragedy of the work and patronises the audience: "I'm sorry I have no breast or I would have fed you like a kind nanny." He praises himself for having opened up their consciousness to a "superhuman freedom", compares himself to a Dutch Cock[140] and ends by proclaiming he sometimes likes his own name "Vladimir Mayakovsky" best of all.

The parallels with Victory over the Sun are evident in the discovery of new worlds and the freeing of language from denotative meaning, but unlike Kruchenykh's opera there is greater pessimism in Mayakovsky's work. Here, even the opening up of new vistas of human possibility is regarded as purposeless. Perhaps because of this Mayakovsky refrains from abandoning the function of language and grammar to Kruchenykh's extent.

The production of Vladimir Mayakovsky was also less ambitious in regard to stage sets and costume designs than Victory over the Sun. Nevertheless, it was the occasion of a unique collaboration between Filonov and Mayakovsky (as well as Shkol'nik and Rozanova[141]). Filonov, on Mayakovsky's request, was responsible for all the costumes and the sets of the prologue and epilogue. Although it is known that Mayakovsky's appearance, in his yellow

and black striped jacket, resembled that of a skomorokh or fairground buffoon, none of Filonov's work has survived. However, the critic Yartsev, cited by Rudnitsky, left enlightening descriptions:

> Small panels (or "screens") placed at the back of the stage near a backdrop covered with rough cloth served as scenery. Throughout the prologue and epilogue there glowed a square panel designed by Pavel Filonov, which was "painted brightly with various objects: little boats, houses and wooden horses, as if someone had strewn a pile of toys around and children had drawn them." Yartsev acknowledged that "it was very cheerful, colourful, warm and merry, reminiscent of Christmas time." A small flight of steps draped in brown calico stood in front of the footlights. Mayakovsky, making his entrance, ascended these steps as though he were mounting a pedestal.[142]

Kruchenykh considered Filonov's stage designs examples of "made paintings" and from his description they coincide with Filonov's easel work at the time:

> "... two huge, to the size of the stage, masterly and thorough, made paintings. I especially remember one: a disturbing, bright city port with many painstakingly drawn boats, people on the shore and then a hundred town buildings each of which was finished to its last little window."[143]

To this can be added Izmailov's description of Filonov's scenery as "some kind of variegated jumble of arms, legs, faces and childrens' toys".[144] More significantly, Zheverzheev noted in the centre of the "lubok-cheerful heap of colour toys, a large and beautiful cock"[145], again relating the work to Tsar Maksem'yan.

Zheverzheev also described Filonov's costumes (no sketches were made) as "extremely complex in their composition and "planar""[146], and added that they had little to do with Mayakovsky's words. Filonov painted the costumes, in the form of his fantastical images, directly on canvas. This was then stretched over a large frame, giving it the appearance of

cardboard. Actors moved the frame in front of themselves on stage. Some actors, representing hawkers just carried outsize folk symbols - an iron herring from a signboard or a kalach loaf of bread (Plate 8.42). The actors then "move slowly, in straight lines, always facing the public (they cannot turn because there is no cardboard to the back or side of them). They wear white lab coats and line up along the sides of the panels, a little closer to the rough cloth backdrop."[147] This planar appearance led the players to appear inhuman, just as the subjects of Filonov's recent paintings, and as Mayakovsky had intended the characters in his tragedy. Their two-dimensionality in a three-dimensional world symbolised the existence of other orders of existence. Besides these players there was a silent "Female Acquaintance", who stood covered by a sheet on the corner of the stage. When Mayakovsky tore the sheet away from her a five metre high *papier maché* peasant woman was revealed "with ruddy cheeks and dressed in some kind of rags".[148] She, the symbol of all the Neo-Primitivism in the work, was then dragged off to be burned.

Shkol'nik designed the sets for the two acts of the play and sketches for these have survived. However, his original plans, apparently anticipating Constructivist stage design, had to be shelved:

> Shkol'nik's originally conceived three-dimensional designs (with many stairs, bridges and passages) turned out to be unrealisable in those times and so the artist ran to another extreme - he confined himself just to two painterly backdrops on which he brilliantly painted two urban landscapes.[149]

Shkol'nik's urbanism, like that of Filonov (and Malevich), matched his experiments in easel painting. His sketch fo Act One (Plate

8.43) depicts a flattened, sliding town, seen from above, as if from an aeroplane. Spatial recession is distorted and volume is altogether lost. The town is far from intimate. Rather it is distant, cold and inhospitable to man. Yartsev described the actual backdrop as "a city with roofs, streets and telegraph poles collapsing into one another"[150], which corresponds to Mayakovsky's line "the city in a web of streets" and recalls the urban works of Shkol'nik's assistant Rozanova, reproduced in The Union of Youth (No.3).[151] Another sketch (Plate 8.44), also apparently intended for the first act, uses the collage technique seen in Shkol'nik's Still-Life with Vases (Plate 6.2). Again the houses fall in on one another and are flattened. The overlapping of forms rejects perspectival illusion. Despite the increased chaos, signboards are prominent, as in his The Provinces (Plate 8.29), including "Fish", "Bakers" and "Fashion". "Vlad Maya" is added in the bottom left hand corner in reference to the author of the tragedy. Tiny, empty trams travel helter-skelter among the buildings.

Both sketches compare with that for Act Two (Plate 8.45) where again a chaos of primitive several-storeyed houses and roofs is depicted, though this time in "the pink light of evening out of which arises the green Arctic Ocean".[152] Dissecting the curve of the ocean are two diverging lines at the top of which is written the word "North" - the place for which the poet finally sets off to deliver the peoples' tears to "the dark god of storms at the source of animal faiths". Shkol'nik's simplifications undoubtedly coincided with the flat costumes of Filonov, though the intricacy of the latter's stage designs appears not to have been repeated.

Indeed, Filonov's work, which continued to be seen on the walls during the play, with its "fish, pretzels, little toy trams overturned in the deserted streets and its upside down iron frames of pipes"[153], acted simultaneously like a playground and square of a modern city and thereby complemented the distant de-humanised city of the backdrop. From this it becomes clear that the plastic principles, and their distinct Neo-Primitivist heritage, employed by both artists in their painting, were translated effectively to the stage.

Vladimir Markov's Publications

Taken together, the Union of Youth's seventh exhibition, their production of Victory over the Sun and Vladimir Mayakovsky, and their publication of Markov's essays, emphatically underline the position the group had reached by the end of 1913. In all of these there was a sense of revolution: vestiges of the old order were exposed and visions of a new order announced. Still, the revolution had not completed its course and a new worldview had not yet been installed. The heritage of symbolism and Neo-Primitivism remained dominant, even in the early phases of Cubo-Futurism that the Union of Youth presented to the world. It was also very much in evidence in Markov's final contributions to the group.

Markov spent every summer from 1910 to 1913 in Europe. In 1910 he was in Tuscany; in 1911 he travelled through Italy with Bubnova and the Ukhanova sisters; in 1912 he was in Paris, Berlin and Cologne; and in 1913 he visited Sweden, England, Holland, Belgium, France and Germany, again with Bubnova. On all these trips he gathered material for both his creative and theoretical work. He studied the frescoes of Umbria and Abruzzi, the mosaics of Ravenna and the reserves of the ethnographical museums in London, Berlin and Leiden. He made notes, drew sketches and took photographs. All in an attempt to penetrate to the essence of plastic principles in art.

To some extent the Union of Youth subsidised Markov's journeys of 1912 and 1913. But the money was not as forthcoming or abundant as Shkol'nik had implied.[154] On 23 April 1913 Markov wrote to Shkol'nik stating his desire to receive a grant, indicating by his

blunt tone that he regarded such a request as nothing exceptional.[155] However, by 5 June he wrote to Zheverzheev from Sweden saying he had left on his travels after unexpectedly receiving three hundred and fifty roubles from a Moscow publisher "for Faktura".[156] This does more than suggest that the Union of Youth were not instrumental in sending Markov abroad. Indeed, it implies that the committee were not only reticent with money, but that they also only published Markov's works under some pressure. Markov may have been calling Zheverzheev's bluff concerning Faktura, but, as he intimated in a letter to the Union of Youth chairman on 10 April 1913, he was certainly willing to seek another publisher:

> With regard to Faktura. This affair has already dragged on five months and it has started to annoy me. That's why I reckoned that I have the right to start discussions with other publishers... I would very much like to speak about faktura. not only in front of the committee, but to all members, exhibitors and guests. Messrs. Dydyshko and Filonov know something about my work.[157]

Markov implies a difference of opinion with committee members about the value of Faktura, but the problems of publication may have stemmed from financial considerations rather than arguments about the essay's merits as a contribution to the study of modern art. Certainly, as Markov had indicated in his letter to Zheverzheev the previous summer, the latter was prudent with his money.[158]

In any case, following the financial success of the Futurist performances, Faktura was eventually published by the Union of Youth in December 1913.[159] It was followed shortly afterwards by their publication of Markov's The Art of Easter Island (January 1914) and the long awaited The Chinese Flute (late March 1914).[160]

These were the last of Markov's works to be published during his lifetime, and the final publications of the Union of Youth. Like the intended participation of the group in an exhibition in Baku in March 1914[161], the proposed March publication of Markov's Negro Art, was cancelled after the break up of the Union of Youth.[162]

Of the three Markov books published by the Union of Youth, two had been prepared prior to his final European tour of 1913. Only The Art of Easter Island resulted from his visits to the ethnographical museums of Europe that summer. The Chinese Flute and Faktura relate closely to Markov's "The Principles of the New Art" and the translations of Chinese poetry published in the first two issues of The Union of Youth.

Creative Principles in the Plastic Arts: Faktura[163] [Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh iskusstvakh: Faktura]

The extended length of Markov's study of faktura was a primary consideration in its publication as a separate booklet, rather than as an essay in The Union of Youth. Still, it continued the discussion begun in "The Principles of the New Art" by concentrating on the elements essential in the creation of a work of art. Although much of what Markov writes is appropriate to primitivism, his argument can be applied to all types of art.[164] Primarily his concern was aesthetic - what makes a work of art a work of art i.e. what is faktura. To this end he paid special attention to the material and its manipulation, comparing and contrasting a wide variety of examples. Ultimately, he found faktura the combination of material, style and their perception

i.e. the "sensation" of a work of art. Faktura, then, was not a purely physical property, but something which changes with social and historical conditions.

As in "The Russian Secession" and "The Principles of the New Art", Markov examined the artist's relationship to nature. In "The Russian Secession" he had claimed that the artist took only a kind of "radium" from nature and that essentially the work he created had "nothing in common with nature".[165] In Faktura he underlined this claim for abstraction with a comparative analysis of the creative processes of nature and the processes of man. Nature's organic creation was found to be ultimately destructive, returning everything to dust, while man's creation involved techniques to change and preserve materials according to different laws. This coincides with the ideas expressed in Victory over the Sun, that the artist must prevail over biological, and even cosmic, powers.

Markov paid special attention to the plastic principles involved in painting, sculpture and architecture. In all three, forms are created according to the conditions of the material, the environment and the artist's psyche. In an elaboration of the ideas of "The Principles of the New Art", Markov looked at the varied combination of these conditions which create the transformations known as art. Again he found primitive and ancient art forms the most significant for his argument. The 'chance' forms of the material in nature were frequently exploited in such a way that they dominate the work of art, creating an abstract expression of the conceived object. Presaging his subsequent study, Markov cited the example of the wooden sculpture of the

Easter Islanders - created in curving arches due to the shape of the wood taken from old boats. The apparently contrasting subjection of material properties to man's treatment, especially evident in man's artificial combination of materials and deliberate accession to the form of the object, was not necessarily any less valid. Indeed, the creation of paint itself involved an unnatural mixing. The combination of elements, as long as it was not for cheap effect or purely decorative purpose, could, whatever the degree of refinement involved, create a work of art. Thus, the elaborate techniques and materials of icons are equally as valid as Easter Islanders' sculpture.

What was essential for the creation of a work of art was a love for material. Without attention to material and formal properties the danger existed of lapsing into the weak imitations of visual appearances taught by art schools. Here Markov clearly supports Larionov's Donkey's Tail and Target artists, particularly Tatlin, and their emphasis on the painting as a made object. Although Markov's Faktura is less declamatory than "The Principles of the New Art", the attack on the deficiences of the art establishment is unrestrained. Again he regards imitation as unavoidable due to cultural and psychological circumstances, but he urges an abandonment of the internationalism of academic art which threatens to reduce the artist to a technician. A cultural awareness must necessarily combine with technical ability and spiritual consciousness in order that the unique quality of art is attained. Without such a combination the symbols created are empty.

Markov reiterates the deceptive nature of academic realism and notes that since full illusion is impossible art must inevitably be a symbol, an imitation of some perceptible effect rather than outer form. Art then could be mimetic of the idea and of other art, but it was essentially non-mimetic with regard to nature. In trying to describe the virtually ineffable quality of artistic faktura, Markov reminds the reader that even imitation of the old is impossible - reconstructions always possess a new faktura. Thus he allows the Italian Futurists' discovery of a new beauty and faktura in the mechanised world, while recognising that this too is ultimately a slave to nature. But he is reticent to endorse the Futurist sculptors' use of machine-made items due to their lack of attention to the plastic properties of the materials. Still, potentially, the use of either factured or manufactured materials and objects can create a work of art. And indeed their combined use, as in Picasso's collages, could be validated as a conscious expression of a knowledge about, and love for, their properties. Such an expression is capable of creating new fakturas, through the new tensions and sensations it evokes.

Clearly, faktura for Markov is a combination of inner and outer worlds. The degree and shades of such a combination give rise to a common 'sensation' that in turn give a work its distinguishing quality, or 'tuning fork', as Markov called it. This 'tuning fork' is conditioned by its creator's characteristics and his cultural background. In his examination of it, Markov develops the discussion in "The Principles of the New Art", of art as both an expression of the creator's self and national qualities.

Thus art, which he likens to handwriting, is environmentally determined. Art is a result of its creator's personality, but that personality is a result of his circumstances. He argues his case by examples of the distinctive *scuola locale* in the towns of Umbria. Again, he acknowledges the external factors active in the creation of art. The denial of these factors, as occurs in the academies, is likewise the denial of the individual, the result being a monotonous banality. Previously, for example, the availability, composition and size of materials played primary roles in the creation of a 'tuning fork'. Again Markov cites the art of the Easter islanders:

> We no longer have, or express, a love for the monumental collosus; there are no more huge stone figures; the love for such a tuning fork has vanished. The materials which were used were not just stone, but whole rock faces and parts of slopes (Egypt, Abu-Simbel, Easter Island, China etc.). Large stone images of rulers are hewn directly on the rock face in Easter Island; thus the artists used the naturally-given proportions and chance; the likely result of such a relation with the material is manifested as a love of the colossal. But as soon as you have learned to cast bronze, the large stone figures disappear, and the vast dimensions disappear as well.[166]

While the 'tuning fork' was unconscious for the Easter islanders and the Umbrians, whose assortment of pigment, material and treatment was due to 'chance', that of the modern artist should be conscious. Thus the selection of compositional elements, from the vast variety available, is of utmost importance for the development of art: "From the thoughtless mixing of all God's given pigments we will never acquire a distinctive tuning fork. Of course working from nature and copying nature never pays attention to the faktura, nor likewise to the tuning fork."[167] Nature then possesses much

potential danger for the modern artist. To avoid its traps he should turn to the principles employed by artists of other times - in order to obtain a certain 'tuning fork'. If the artist was concerned with the idea of form alone, as, Markov implied, were the realists, then he could employ any material, but if he sought a 'tuning fork', that represented both his self and his relations with the world, then he must be consciously selective in his materials and their use.

While Markov's argument in Faktura is occasionally repetitive, generally the expansion of his examination of the principles of art is highly original and incisive. He writes with the same simple style as in his two previous articles and again illustrates his points with numerous exotic examples. The significance of the essay, the fullest development of Markov's ideas, is in its exposition of the compositional options facing the modern artist and, for this thesis, its relevance to the members of the Union of Youth.

Markov's argument is analytical rather than polemical, and it echoes the Union of Youth's originally stated desire to study art unburdened by any preconceptions about the creative process. Stripping away such preconceptions, he can even talk about the characteristics of the implements and dyes used, the texture of the surface, the notion of framing and methods of preservation. He thereby calls into question many of the accepted notions concerning these elements. While accepting that man must learn many techniques in order to temporarily overcome the destructive power

of nature, he does not seek a dissonance with nature. Art is of another order to nature, but relations between the orders exist which cannot be overlooked. Ultimately, art is dependent upon its surroundings.

In Faktura, Markov remains an apologist for the modern movement but refuses to allow it, just as academic art, the right to practice exercises in unconsiously created form. A neglect of plastic principles and ignoring of material and non-material qualities denies the value of the creative act. Thus his enquiry supports the formal experiments seen in the most recent work by Union of Youth members such as Tatlin, Rozanova, Filonov and Malevich - and their retention of spirituality. At the same time, other Union of Youth artists, such as Shkol'nik, Shleifer, Zel'manova and the Burlyuks, appear not to have lived up to Markov's stringent demands for a conscious, individual 'tuning fork'.

The Art of Easter Island [Iskusstvo Ostrova Paskhi] and The Chinese Flute [Svirel' Kitaya]

The breadth of Markov's search for creative principles was emphasized by The Art of Easter Island and The Chinese Flute: one is an examination of Chinese poetry, the other concerns the sculptural art of tiny Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean. There could hardly be two more contrasting art forms. On the one hand were delicate Chinese poems, whose style and complex rules of composition evolved, and were carefully manipulated by successions of ruling dynasties, over many centuries. On the other hand were

the crudely worked stone colossi of Easter Island. Yet both of these art forms, despite their emphatic differences, were constructed according to distinct, established rules that gave them a faktura wholly appropriate to their environment. In such art, far from the levelling influence of modern art schools, Markov found and elucidated the principles he considered essential for all art. He thus confirmed his position as a leading spokesman for Neo-Primitivism, having imbued the trend with a profound spiritual and symbolist sense in Faktura. This trend, begun by Larionov and Goncharova around 1908, and developed through the activities of Donkey's Tail and the Union of Youth, now reached its climax. But in so doing, it laid the foundations for new movements in Russian art - for Cubo-Futurism, Suprematism and Constructivism.

The Art of Easter Island suffers from a lack of visual material. This weakens Markov's argument for the creative principles involved and the work fails to be so critically incisive as his other essays - remaining instead essentially ethnographical and classificatory. Much of the essay is concerned with a historical review of Easter Island civilization. Still, the study of the stone and wooden sculpture as an art form was unprecedented. It owed much to Markov's primitivist interests, akin to those of the Russian avant-garde[168], and inspired by Gauguin's use of Tahitian motifs and Picasso's use of Iberian and African sculpture principles.[169] In "The Russian Secession" he had particularly expressed his love of Gauguin's painterly art and it is quite clear that his conception of the nature of art, as something independent of nature, yet reliant on a synthesis of experiences, is close to

Gauguin's. The Art of Easter Island does not pursue any claim of relevance to modern art, yet its exposition of the creative forms and principles of the Easter Islanders is symptomatic of the modern artists' search for simple faith in nature and life outside of the alienating world of industrial society. While others transferred and exploited the instinctive, expressive qualities of primitive art in their own art, Markov attempted to unravel the heritage and significance of its plastic qualities.

In 1913 it had been possible for Markov to see just three stone statues from Easter Island in London and Paris (see Plate 8.46). For his analysis of Easter Island art he had mostly to rely on the memoirs of missionaries and explorers. Inevitably these paid only passing attention to the form of the art. Still, he constructs a convincing picture of the monumental stone colossi and the smaller wooden sculptures. As in Faktura, Markov looks at methods and implements of construction, reasons for the size, social use and ultimately formal qualities. The independence of the forms of the represented images from their appearance in nature is clearly important to Markov, yet he recognises that the use of material is vitally linked with nature. The simple, intuitive and, at the same time conceptual, embodiment of a local 'tuning fork' satisfied Markov's search for a forgotten language of form. Although he speculates as to various sources for Easter Island art, the uniqueness of its stone sculpture among the islands of the south Pacific is highly significant to him. He notes that, although Polynesian and Melanesian art occasionally had similar formal characteristics, neither possessed the monumental stone

sculpture of Easter Island. This interest in individuality coincides with his attraction to the national cultural pedigree of the Chinese in The Chinese Flute.

Markov's exposition of Easter Island sculpture indicated that the crudity of forms and implements used in the art were actually the result of a highly developed ancient culture, which even had its own written language and painting. The stone colossi, up to fifteen metres in height, were invariably representations of human figures, often with huge triangular red hats made of volcanic tuff. Essentially, they were some kind of memorial stones to ancestors or gods and were created, using obsidian knives, in vast workshops on the volcanic slopes of the island. The sculptors, who would create, at most, two complete figures in their lifetime, were highly revered in Easter Island society. The statues had much in common with the smaller wooden sculpture created on the island, including the essential pillar-like construction, an ornamentally marked chest and collar-bone, small arms, long ears, short neck, oblong face with a long nose and broad eye sockets (Plate 8,47). However, the colossi could possess rich ornamentation on their backs, as well as incisions into planes, to stress features.

The unique faktura of Easter Island art is intrinsically interesting to Markov. Through his study of the variety of its art forms he is able to identify the relative rise and decline of the culture. Not surprisingly the low point is reached when the sculptures lose their individuality, and incorporate realistic features such as teeth in the mouth and unelongated ears. By that time the workmanship was poor and the object was created for trade

rather than worship.

In Faktura Markov had admitted that the art object could be nothing but a symbol. In The Art of Easter Island and The Chinese Flute he explored two very different creations of symbols. That of Chinese poetry was an extremely refined expression of a metaphysical outlook. That of Easter Island art was a cruder response to faith in nature. It is almost as if Markov has taken up the long-running argument in The Golden Fleece concerning 'idealistic symbolism' and 'realistic symbolism', in an attempt to show the validity of both.[171] In neither essay did Markov propose that the creations of the Easter Islanders and Chinese should be imitated. Rather, his aim appears one of assimilation and regeneration. He puts the principles of Chinese poetry and Easter Island sculpture before the modern reader in order that they may provoke some new perception of the world around. This new awareness of artistic possibilities could then lead to a new formal language free from the 'constructive' language predominant in Europe.

Because of the comparative wealth of material with which he could work, Markov's argument in The Chinese Flute is more fully substantiated than that of The Art of Easter Island. Of the twenty-two photographic illustrations in The Art of Easter Island (all apparently made by himself in the ethnographical museums of Europe) only two stone and seven wooden sculptures from Easter Island were shown. In The Chinese Flute there are thirty-one poems belonging to numerous Chinese dynasties from the twelfth century

B.C. to the nineteenth century A.D.. These are in Russian translation. However, their translator, Vyacheslav Egor'ev, did not translate them directly from the Chinese but from previously published French or German translations.[172]

Though "The Principles of the New Art" and Faktura had been primarily concerned with the visual arts, Markov had also found occasion to turn to Chinese poetry for examples of 'non-constructive' principles of beauty. In Faktura, in his discussion about the compiling of materials, Markov had cited Li-Tai-Po, a great eighth century poet of the Tang dynasty. His poem, "Staircase in the Moonlight", concerns the sadness of a queen walking in the moonlight. It is devoid of profound philosophical thought, being rather a selection of flickering elements (nephrite stairs, besprinkled dew, the pearl-white curtain of the pavilion, magic stones, the babble of a waterfall, a pearl) upon which the moonlight falls. Such an assemblage of materials creates an especially evocative faktura. According to Markov, the modern western craving for logical, sequential construction is, by comparison, the work of mere craftsmen. Without a sensitivity to chance materials there can be no encapsulation of the essential mystical element in life. Poetry, like the visual arts, need not strive to express some concrete idea, but rather a feeling. This feeling could be evoked simply by the combination of materials, whether plastic or literary. In such a way Markov left the door open for objectless art.

Markov had shown in "The Principles of the New Art", that Chinese poetry, like Chinese art, could sensitively employ the

principle of chance in order to open up whole wonderous worlds:

> The Chinese, for example, sings that the eyebrows of a woman are black and long, like the wings of black swallows in flight. In the tree whose autumn leaves are falling he sees a harp on whose strings the wind sobs. For him the falling snow is a cloud of white butterflies, dropping to the earth.[173]

These three examples of the principle of chance in Chinese poetry were taken from the three poems ("Of Autumn", "The Gifts of Love" and "Snow") which appeared in The Union of Youth[174] and which were subsequently published in The Chinese Flute.[175] By choosing poems written by three different authors in three different epochs (from the eleventh, thirteenth and nineteenth centuries), Markov emphasised the exploitation of the accidental in Chinese art as well as hinting at the longevity of Chinese creative principles. In his introduction to The Chinese Flute he describes how such principles survived for so long, and in this he has a message for modern art:

> It is true that the Huns, Tatars, Mongols and finally the Manchurians cut short a series of national dynasties in the course of the four thousand year history of China, but not once did China fall under the influence of its conquerors. On the contrary, there occurred a swift assimilation of the latter and the utter absorption of a foreign element.[176]

He regarded such an assimilation as essential in order to retain an independent art with an identifiable faktura. The Chinese leaders had assured this by their spreading of the values of art and literature, together with those of physical labour, throughout the nation, with the aim of furthering the spiritual well-being of the country. Poetry had played an essential role in this process of enlightenment. This could be seen as early as the ninth century B.C. in Shi-King's primitive poetry. His content was heterogeneous

and his style simple and laconic. Historical narrative was absent yet the poems remain records of the atmosphere and customs of the time. Furthermore, the style, with its subtle linking of different parts, established a tradition, the influence of which was still possible to feel in early twentieth century Chinese poetry.

With a syntax solely dependent on the sequence of events and the growth of a writing system that was essentially a visual language having nothing in common with the aural language, Chinese poetry was able to develop in ways totally alien to those of Europe. The fact that the poetry was perceived independently by the eyes and the ears led to a duality, the special beauty of which was noted by Markov:

> The marked sign in Chinese language, allows, without resorting to sound for help, the spontaneous expression of an idea. And the poets used this advantage to deepen the sense of the word, to strengthen the impression and to attract the attention of the reader.[177]

The combination of painterly and musical elements in poetry was unique and through the adoption of certain rules of composition it was refined to create rare examples of beauty. Markov examines these rules in some detail and finds linguistic inflections, caused by the separation of the visual and aural aspects, unencountered in the poetry of other nations.

The Chinese Flute, in comparison with The Art of Easter Island, is a comprehensive critical study of an ancient art form. Markov's aim was to establish the relevance of Eastern art to contemporary Western art. He did not require that the modern European artist copy the principles employed in China, but rather, as in all his work, wanted to provide examples of genuine ways in

which the creative process can be approached. From such studies a rediscovery of the artist's native culture could be made and ultimately art could move forward, still in accordance with the tradition to which it belonged. This need not be a strictly nationalist art for, as the Chinese had proved, external influences could be absorbed to create a new dynamic, without altering the balance of the established art forms. Markov's, and the Union of Youth's aim, was ultimately to re-establish essential relations, lost in the sterile, alienated world of the Russian art establishment, between the modern artist and the world he perceived, experienced and lived in.

FOOTNOTES

1. The World of Art exhibition ran from 3 to 28 November 1913. Exhibitors included Belkin, Gaush, Grigor'ev, Al'tman, Kalmakov, Mostova, Fon-Vizin, Petrov-Vodkin, Pavel Kuznetsov, Nagubnikov and Tatlin. When the exhibition moved to Moscow in December works by Larionov and Goncharova were added (see Chapter Six, Footnote 100).

2. The Dobychina Bureau exhibitions included: "The Permanent Exhibition of Modern Art" (27.9. - 22.10. 1913) with work by Al'tman, Baller, Benois, Bobyshev, Baudouin de Courtenay, D. Burlyuk, Gaush, Grigor'ev, Dydyshko, Kandinsky, Kirillova, Pavel Kuznetsov, Kul'bin, Lasson-Spirova, Latri, Lyubavina, Potipaka, Rozanova, Utkin, Fal'k, L. Shekhtel, Shkol'nik and many others; "The Exhibition of Graphic Art" (28.10. - 24.11. 1913), with work by Al'tman, Verner, Kalmakov, Kandinsky, Kul'bin, Mitrokhin and others; and "The New Satirikon" (late November 1913) with work by Al'tman, Benois, Bilibin, Lebedev, Mitrokhin, Sudeikin and others.

3. The pseudo-Futurist exhibitions were: "The Raspberry Camel", which opened on 15 November 1913. Changing pictures were displayed: "the public sees a loving, sweet serenade under the balcony where a lady and her love... they press a button and instead of both figures only bare skeletons are visible" ([anon.], "Sverkh-dekadentskaya vystavka", Vechernee vremya No. 612, 15 November 1913, p. 4); and the "Exhibition of the Supra-Futurists" (see [anon.], "Original'naya vystavka" Rossiya No. 2553, 13 March 1914, p. 4), which opened on 11 March 1914.

4. See Malevich letter to Shkol'nik 5.11.1913, Russian Museum, Leningrad, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 41, l. 5.

5. Shekhtel, Podgaevskii, Labunskaya and Ekster appeared in both the Union of Youth's exhibition and "No. 4", the show organised by Larionov which opened in Moscow on 23 March 1914. This hints at a greater sympathy of direction between the two parties than Larionov would have liked to admit.

6. M. Bezhentsev, displayed a work that gave a "completely whole, constrained impression... (no. 11), something like a motif of a fine pattern (blue, brown and white)" (A. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", Rech' No. 326, 28 November 1913, p. 3). Bezhentsev's concentration on colour and lack of title suggest purely painterly concerns. One critic found his canvases "... really resemble nothing" (R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi i khudozhniki 'Zaburlyukali'", Peterburgskaya gazeta No. 310, 11 November 1913, p. 3).

Ekaterina Vasil'eva, a pupil of Ekster's, contributed one work, Kiev (cat. 13). All that is known about its form is that it consisted of "some kind of bloody little spheres" (R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi"). In February 1914 her work at the "Ring" exhibition in Kiev was noted for its "movement of colour... and the appropriate use of contrast and interruption of light." (N. Kul'bin "Vystavka Kol'tsa I", Muzy (Kiev) No. 5, 3 March 1914, p. 6).

The Petersburg artist E. A. Lasson-Spirova contributed three untitled works in which she "found a successful use for Cubism in children's toys" (R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi"). However, the nature of this application of Cubist principles, by an artist who earlier in the year had been accused of imitating Petrov-Vodkin ([anon.], "Vnepartiinaya Vystavka", Rech' No. 55, 26 February 1913, p. 5) is unknown. A resemblance to the wooden sculptured toy-like figures in Filonov's work is possible. Lasson-Spirova exhibited with Filonov at the Non-Aligned Society's 1913 exhibition, and was one of the founders of the ""Made Paintings" Intimate Studio of Painters and Draughtsmen" in January 1914

7. A. Rostislavov, "Neotsennaya", Rech' No. 114, 28 April 1913, p. 3.

8. Rostislavov, "Neotsennaya".

9. V. Denisov, "Soyuz molodezhi", Den' No. 325, 30 November 1913, p. 5.

10. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

11. [anon.] "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" Vechernee vremya No. 608, 11 November 1913, p. 3.

12. Denisov, "Soyuz molodezhi".

13. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

14. Ibid.

15. See, for example, W. Sherwin Simmons, Kasimir Malevich's Black Square and the Genesis of Suprematism, 1907-1915, PhD thesis, The John Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1979, pp. 51-130; and S. Compton, Kazimir Malevich: A Study of the Paintings, 1910-1935, PhD thesis, University of London, 1983, pp. 51-96.

16. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, Fond 25, ed. khr. 9, l. 11-12. Cited from E. Kovtun, "Kazimir Malevich", Art Journal, Vol. 40-1, Fall 1981, p. 235. Translated from the Russian by C. Douglas.

17. Cited from C. Douglas, "Beyond Reason: Malevich, Matiushin, and their Circles", The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985 (exhibition catalogue), Los Angeles Museum of Art (New York), 1986.

18. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 41, l. 3-5.

19. Soyuz molodezhi: katalog vystavki kartin (St. Petersburg), 1913, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 2

20. Benois "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi" Rech' No. 350, 21 December 1912, p. 3.

21. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 2.

22. For a detailed examination of The Knife Grinder see Compton, Kazimir Malevich PhD Thesis, 1983, pp. 52-60. For an analysis of the reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia, see C. Humphreys, Cubo-Futurism in Russia: The Development of a Painterly Style 1912-1922, PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1989, pp. 10-101.

23. Ibid. p. 54.

24. Woman in Blue was reproduced in Novoe vremya (prilozhenie), 13 October 1912, No. 13143, p. 10. It was shown at the "'Modern Art' Exhibition of French Paintings", together with work by Picasso, Matisse, Marquet, Van Dongen, Gris, Metzinger, Heckel and Kirchner.

25. i.e. Vzorval', Vozropshchem, Porosyata, Troe and Slovo kak Takovoe (all published by EUY, St. Petersburg 1913). Reapers (cat. 67), for example, was almost certainly based on an illustration to The Three [Troe], opp. p. 50. Much scholarly attention has been given to Malevich's graphic work. See, for example, D. Karshan, Malevich: The Graphic Work 1913-1930 Exhibition Catalogue, Jerusalem Museum 1975; S. Compton, The World Backwards: Russian Futurist Books 1912-1916 (London), 1978.

26. I. Yasinskii, "Soyuz molodezhi", Birzhevye vedomosti No. 13854, 13 November 1913, pp. 4-5.

27. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

28. R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

29. K. Malevich, On New Systems in Art, published in Vitebsk, 1919, translated in T. Andersen (ed.) Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933 (London), 1969, p. 114.

30. There are two Samovar variants - one in a private collection in New York, the other in the Rostov Art Museum. The Rostov work is erroneously attributed the date 1910 and printed upside down in Avantgarde 1910-1930: Russian and Soviet Art Exhibition Catalogue, Turku Art Museum, Turku, 1989. The steps and aeroplane wheels in the composition are clearly related to the motifs of Victory over the Sun.

31. It is taken that this work is that now known as Musical Instrument/Lamp (Stedlijk Museum, Amsterdam) given its close proximity to Malevich's stage designs for Victory over the Sun.

32. For a discussion of Malevich's conception of the fourth dimension and the relationship of his thought with recent theory see L. D. Henderson, The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art, Princeton 1983.

33. "Na vystavke 'Soyuza molodezhi'", Rech' No. 299, 1 November 1913 p. 5.

34. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 4.

35. See Filonov, "Made Paintings" (1914) and "The Basic Tenets of Analytical Art" (1923?) in J. Bowlt, N. Misler (trans. and eds.), Pavel Filonov: A Hero and His Fate, (Austin, Texas) 1983, pp. 135-154. Despite his rejection of Cubism, Filonov's ideas for a conceptual art still have much in common with it.

36. The Non-Aligned Society's exhibition ran from 17 February to 21 April 1913.

37. The idea of intimacy, noted in Chapter Two, was already established in the Petersburg arts: e.g. in the Intimate Theatre of the Stray Dog. The Non-Aligned Society had held "intimate" exhibitions (usually small, one-day shows where each artist was limited to one or two exhibits) during 1912 and 1913.

38. See "Letter to Matiushin", Bowlt and Misler, Pavel Filonov p. 139.

39. Ibid.

40. There were two such works - as evidenced by the pencil entries in the administrative copy of the catalogue (Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 10) and R., "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi", op. cit., though only one appeared in the catalogue.

41. Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 10.

42. There survives one work, in brown ink and pencil, that is known as Execution (After 1905) which, while obviously not Painting, may have been related to it. It depicts many primitive figures, some crucified, some on horseback and some standing, as well as Filonov's favourite fish symbol. Filonov was to continue his interest in depicting revolution after 1917.

43. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 10.

44. See "Letter to Matiushin" Bowlt, Misler ed. Pavel Filonov p. 139.

45. R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

46. As stated above, Design for a Lubok Picture (cat. 135) was marked as "M. i Zh." (Man and Woman) in the inventory catalogue. N.B.: Bowlt and Misler note another work Orientation to the Lubok (Pavel Filonov, p. 75).

47. In the group's copy of the catalogue (Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 7), "Crimean Study" is pencilled in by Circus.

48. Pencilled in Steamship in Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 7).

49. Yasinskii, "Soyuz molodezhi".

50. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

51. See Le Fauconnier, "Proizvedenie iskusstva", Soyuz Molodezhi, No. 2, pp. 36-37.

52. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

53. A postcard from Tatlin to Shkol'nik, dated 30.4.1913 (Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 67, l. 1), was written at the railway station Eropkino as he headed for Paris. He writes that he left Moscow on 26 April.

54. See L. Zhadova, "'Composition-Analysis', or a New Synthesis?", L. Zhadova (ed.), Tatlin (London), 1988, pp. 63-66.

55. See, Ibid., Plates 97-103.

56. Ibid. pp. 65-66.

57. Upon Tatlin's initiative two other young Moscow artists, Khodasevich and Podgaevskii, made their Petersburg debut at the Union of Youth's exhibition. Valentina Mikhailovna Khodasevich (1894-1970) had recently begun to work in Tatlin's studio after returning from Paris where she had studied under Van Dongen. At this stage she concentrated on portraits (she later became a theatrical designer). Her sole Union of Youth contribution was a portrait (cat. 138) with simplified line and a "spiced 'texture' and colouring" (Rostislavov "Vystavka").

Sergei Podgaevskii contributed Small Horse and Poet. He also showed eighteen works at "No. 4". In May 1914, describing himself as a Futurist, Podgaevskii made "dynamic declamations" at the open evenings held in Tatlin's studio for the showing of his latest reliefs (see Tatlin invitation to Zheverzheev, 8.5.14, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 117, l. 61). Podgaevskii invented a type of Futurism he called "Summism" and held a one-man exhibition of such work in Poltava, 1916. He wrote "post-zaum" poetry.

58. Yasinskii, "Soyuz molodezhi". Like Tatlin, one of Burlyuk's exhibits reflected an interest in icon painting technique: George the Victor (copper) Painterly Bas-Relief. In the administrative catalogue this was subtitled "copper icon" (Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8., l. 7).

59. David Burlyuk was responsible for the introduction of two young Moscow artists, Vera Fedorovna Shekhtel (1896-1958) and Maria Mikhailovna Sinyakova (1890-1984), to the Union of Youth. Shekhtel, a friend of Mayakovsky's, was the sister of Lev Shekhtel (Zhegin), whose work, according to a letter from Burlyuk to Shkol'nik (Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 11), was also due to appear at the exhibition. Vera Shekhtel's exhibits, Orphistic Painting and Balalaika are not known. However, a Still-Life by the artist, reproduced in the "No. 4" catalogue (and indicative of further similarities among the minor artists of the groups), depicts a balalaika reduced to facetted planes and with

one or two recognisable elements (the keys, strings, shape of the body).

Sinyakova had studied in Mashkov's studio since 1912. The tubular effect in her two untitled paintings drew comparison with Malevich (Rostislavov "Vystavka"). In one of the works (Plate 8.24) the figures are flattened and geometricised. Perspective is denied and the viewpoint is ambiguous. The female figure in the bottom left corner is struck in the face by a beam of light, which emanates from the hand of the top-hatted man on the right. Other beams emanate from, and strike, the two male figures who apparently stand on the beam from the top-hatted man. This play of light-beams and the almost mechanised forms and movement of the stiff figures, suggests that the work depicts a scene from Futurist theatre.

60. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

61. As indicated below, Grishchenko planned to talk on Picasso for the Union of Youth, during November 1913. He wrote about Picasso in A. Grishchenko, O svyazyakh russkoi zhivopisi s Vizantiei i Zapadom XIII-XXvv. Mysli zhivopitsa (Moscow), 1913 and actually gave a lecture on Picasso's Violin, which had recently been bought by Shchukin, at the Moscow salon of Mikhailova (the venue, earlier in the year, for the "Exhibition of French Painting"), see W. Sherwin Simmons, Kasimir Malevich's Black Square, p. 131.

62. Both artists painted each others portraits. Klyun exhibited his of Malevich at the third Moscow Salon (December 1912-January 1913) and Malevich his two versions of Klyun, as already noted, at the last two Union of Youth exhibitions.

63. This is reflected in his Portrait of My Wife (1910) - See Russian Avant-Garde Art: The George Costakis Collection, (London) 1981, Plate 127.

64. A later 'Cubo-Futurist' painting, Self Portrait with Saw (1917-22, see ibid. Plate 155) is said to be a version of an earlier work - possibly The Sawyer.

65. Rostislavov "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi". Morgunov's exhibits included two ex-catalogue (see Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed.khr.8, l.1): Three at Dinner and The Butcher.

66. The Aviator's Study and View from the Balcony (cat.84) were sent from Moscow with a special note requesting they be mounted and framed (Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed.khr.8, l.1), possibly implying that they were Morgunov's most recent work.

67. A. Kruchenykh, Vzorval' (St. Petersburg), 1913, leaf 17. This work has been the subject of much study, see for example, Sherwin Simmons, Kasimir Malevich's Black Square, pp. 80-83.

68. See V. Kamenskii, Put' entuziasta (Perm) 1968, pp. 128-134.

69. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

70. One of two not dissimilar works by Ekster reproduced in Futuristy. Pervyi Zhurnal Russkikh Futuristov (Petersburg, February 1914, published by Matyushin's "Zhuravl" press).

71. City of Paris was shown at the 1912 Salon des Indépendants. A work similar to Genoa, apparently Walk in the Forest, appeared in the "No. 4" exhibition catalogue (Moscow, 1914). It is worth noting, that Ekster knew Delaunay personally.

72. Minor artists included Voinov, who contributed the only sculpture in the exhibition, a work in wood entitled Thought, and Lyubavina, who showed three works (No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 Blue and Green).

73. R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

74. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

75. Ibid.

76. R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

77. Yasinskii, "Soyuz molodezhi".

78. R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

79. See Yasinskii, "Soyuz molodezhi".

80. See Denisov, "Soyuz molodezhi".

81. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi."

82. Denisov, "Soyuz molodezhi".

83. A work with the title Bakhchisarai is in the Russian Museum, Inv. No. Zh-10356.

84. R. "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

85. Four works, including two portraits are added in Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 5.

86. Denisov, "Soyuz molodezhi".

87. V. A. "Vystavka kartin Soyuza molodezhi"; Rostislavov "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi"; Yasinskii "Soyuz molodezhi".

88. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed.khr. 9, l. 12.

92. I. Yasinskii, "Sovremennoe iskusstvo", Birzhevye vedomosti. No. 13780, 1 October 1913, p. 6.

93. Dydyshko was in Paris in the Spring of 1908 and would have been able to see Braque (et. al.), including Calanque, at the Salon des Indépendents. Similar works, including Le Port de la Ciotat, were also shown at the Golden Fleece exhibition in Moscow a few weeks later.

94. V. I. Denisov, "Puti zhivopistsa (k rabotam Dydyshko)", Novyi Zhurnal dlya vsekh. (St. Petersburg), No. 10 1915, pp. 52-59.

95. Pardon Peal was subsequently sent to the 1914 Paris Salon des Indépendants.

96. V. A., "Vystavka kartin Soyuza molodezhi v Peterburge" Ogonek No. 48, 1 December 1913, p. 7.

97. Rostislavov, "Vystavka Soyuza molodezhi".

98. J. Bowlt "The St. Petersburg Ambience and the Union of Youth" A Collection of Essays (New York), 1976, p. 129.

99. See Russian Avant-Garde Art: The George Costakis Collection, Plates 529-529.

100. The influence of Kupka, a Czech, who rarely exhibited outside Paris, is difficult to assess. Disks of Newton (1912) was subtitled Study for Fugue in Two Colours, the title of a work Kupka showed at the 1912 Salon d'Automne. The geometric forms of Kupka's Vertical Planes (1912), shown at the Salon des Indépendants (Spring 1913), appear to anticipate Malevich's move to Suprematism.

101. A similarity to the 'pure', 'musical' forms of Delaunay's Orphism may also have been evident in Matyushin's work. Certainly word of Orphism had reached Russia by this time (as indicated by Shektel's Orphistic Painting) - see, for example, the dismissive article "Orfeisty", Vestnik teatra (St. Petersburg) No. 2, 31 March 1913, p. 6. Kupka, who was older than the Cubists, was somewhat isolated from them: he was a mystic, deeply influenced by science, spiritualism, the occult; and by his political anarchism - ideas which have much in common with those of the Russian avant-garde.

102. See H. Berninger and J. Cartier, Pougny, Vol. I, (Tübingen), 1972, p. 180.

103. See M. Etkind, Nathan Altman, (Dresden) 1984, p. 19.

104. See "Na vystavke 'Soyuza molodezhi'", Rech' No. 299, 1 November 1913, p. 5 and subsequently on 11 November, "Nashi futuristy", Obozrenie teatrov No. 2260, p. 17

105. See [anon.], "Teatr Futu", Moskovskaya gazeta No. 272, 9 September 1913, p. 5, and below.

106. See Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 39.

107. See, for example, the printed programme, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 37-38; and advertisement in Rech'. 17 November 1913, p. 1.

108. Concerning these evenings see, V. A. Byalik (ed.) Russkaya literatura kontsa XIX- nachala XXvv. Vol II, Moscow, 1972, pp. 560-565.

109. [anon.], "Vecher futuristov", Obozrenie teatrov No. 2271, 22 November 1913, p. 13.

110. [anon.] "Vecher futuristov" Rech' No. 319, 21 November 1913 p. 6. Another version of this, altering the meaning, was reported: " Rhythms decorate verses like flowers a room and like spit the road" (Evg. Adamov "Prosveshchenie ili attraktsion" Den' No. 317, 22 November 1913, p. 3).

111. [anon.], "Vecher futuristov", Rech'.

112. See L. V., "Pushkin i Khlebnikov (na lektsii D. Burlyuka)", Rech', 4 November 1913, No. 302, p. 5.

113. [anon.], "Vecher futuristov", Rech'.

114. Recent work includes: C. Douglas, Swans of Other Worlds. pp. 35-47; C. Douglas, "Birth of a 'Royal Infant': Malevich and 'Victory over the Sun'", Art in America March-April 1974, pp. 45-51; M. Etkind, "Soyuz Molodezhi i ego stsenograficheskie eksperimenty", Sovetskie khudozhniki i kino '75. (Moscow), 1981, pp. 240-259; J.-C. Marcadé La Victoire sur le Soleil (Lausanne), 1976; K. Rudnitsky Russian and Soviet Theatre 1905-1932 (London) 1988; L. D. Henderson "The Merging of Time and Space: "The Fourth Dimension" in Russia from Ouspensky to Malevich" The Structurist (Saskatoon), No. 15/16, 1975/6, pp. 97-108.

115. Cited from Douglas, Swans of other Worlds, p. 36.

116. Cited from B. N. Kapelyush, "A. E. Kruchenykh. Pis'ma k M. V. Matyushinu", Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo doma na 1974 god. (Leningrad), 1976, p. 174.

117. M. Matyushin, "Futurizm v Peterburge" Futuristy: Pervyi Zhurnal russkikh futuristov. No. 1-2 (Petersburg) 1914, p. 155. Zheverzheev mentions these difficulties (L. Zheverzeev, "Vospominaniya" in V. Azarov and S. Spasskii (ed.), Mayakovskomu (Leningrad) 1940, pp. 133-4) adding that only the recent poor takings of the Luna Park Theatre led its management to allow the Futurist performances for four days. One of the first articles about Italian Futurist theatre to be published in Russia appeared

in summer 1913, shortly after the Uusikirkko conference: V. Shaposhnikov, "Futurizm i teatr (Marinetti, Pratella, Russolo)", Maski, Moscow, No. 7-8, August 1913 p. 29ff.

118. Letter to Shkol'nik, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 41, l. 3-5.

119. Matyushin, "Futurizm v Peterburge", p. 156.

120. Ibid. p. 155. See also "Eskizy i kroki", Peterburgskaya gazeta No. 328, 29 November 1913, p. 4, about the refusal of one musician.

121. "Pervyya v mire postanovka futuristov" Nash Vykhod (unpublished). Cited from J. Kowtun, "Sieg über die Sonne", Sieg über die Sonne: Aspekte russischer Künst zu Beginn des 20 Jahrhunderts (Berlin), 1983, p. 51.

122. Matyushin, " Tvorcheskii put' khudozhnika", pp. 106-107, cited in L. Jadova, "Des Commencements sans fins", Europe. Revue Littéraire mensuelle 53 année (Paris), April 1975, No. 552, p. 130.

123. Cited in Douglas, "Birth of a Royal Infant", p. 46.

124. Ibid. p. 47.

125. -'., "Kak budut durachit' publiku (futuristskaya opera)", Den' No. 325, 1 December 1913, p. 6.

126. The text of Victory over the Sun was published as a booklet shortly after the production, at the end of December 1913 (Pobeda nad solntsem: opera. (St. Petersburg), 1913. All quotes hereafter are taken from this booklet.

127. J. Bowlt, "When Life was a Cabaret", Art News (New York), December 1984, p. 124.

128. Matyushin, "Futurizm v Peterburge", p. 156.

129. Bowlt, "When Life was a Cabaret" p. 124.

130. Ibid. p. 124.

131. See above Footnote 114 above.

132. Rudnitsky, Russian and Soviet Theatre, p. 13.

133. [anon.], "V Peterburge", Muzy (Kiev), No. 1, 25 December 1913, p. 20.

134. Malevich exhibited Portrait of Matyushin two months later at the Knave of Diamonds exhibition.

135. Compton, Kazimir Malevich: A Study of the Paintings, p. 93.

136. Cited from E. Bartos and V. Nes Kirby, "Victory over the Sun", The Drama Review (New Orleans) vol. XV Pt. 4 1971, p. 120.

137. K. Tomashevskii, "Vladimir Mayakovskii" Teatr No. 4, 1938, cited in Bartos, Nes Kirby "Victory over the Sun", ibid.

138. [anon.] "Teatr Futu".

139. Ibid.

140. The cock symbol compares with that of Tsar Maksem'yan. The text of Vladimir Mayakovsky was published as a booklet in March 1914 ('Vladimir Mayakovskii': tragediya, Moscow, 1914). All citations here are taken from this booklet.

141. Concerning Rozanova's participation, see V. N. Terekhina, "'Nachalo zhizni tsvetochno aloi...'. O. V. Rozanova (1886-1918)", Panorama iskusstv 12, (Moscow), 1989, p. 44.

142. Yartsev, "Teatr futuristov" Rech' 7 December 1913, cited from Rudnitsky, Russian and Soviet Theatre, p. 13.

143. Mayakovskii v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov, (Moscow) 1963, p. 625.

144. A. Izmailov, "Vecher futuristov", Birzhevye vedomosti, No. 13886, 3 December 1913, p. 2.

145. L. Zheverzheev, "Kostyum delal P. N. Filonov", Leningrad Theatrical Museum, quoted in Etkind "Soyuz Molodezhi", p. 255.

146. Zheverzheev, "Vospominaniya", p. 135.

147. Yartsev, "Teatr futuristov", Rudnitsky op. cit., p. 13.

148. Ibid. p. 13.

149. Zheverzheev, "Vospominaniya", p. 135.

150. Yartsev, "Teatr futuristov", Rudnitsky op. cit., p. 13.

151. Concerning Rozanova's contributions to The Union of Youth (No. 3), see Chapter Seven and Plates 7. 8, 7. 11-13. Terekhina, "'Nachalo zhizni'", reproduces a sketch by Rozanova for Vladimir Mayakovsky, that closely relates to the works in The Union of Youth.

152. Etkind, "Soyuz Molodezhi", p. 255.

153. M. Davydova, "Teatral'no-dekoratsionnoe iskusstvo" Russkaya khudozhestvennaya kul'tura 1908-1917, Vol. IV, (Moscow), 1980, p. 218.

154. See Chapter Five, Footnote 139.

155. Markov note to Shkol'nik, 23 April 1913, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 46, l. 2.

156. Markov letter to Zheverzheev, 5 June 1913, Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 43, l. 1.

157. Markov letter to Zheverzheev, 10 April 1913, Bakhrushin Theatrical Museum, Moscow, Fond 99, ed. khr. 61, l. 1-2.

158. See Chapter Six, Markov letter to Zheverzheev, 26 July 1912, Bakhrushin Theatrical Museum, Fond 99, ed. khr. 59, l. 1.

159. The publisher's date is 1914 but in fact the book appears to have been released at the very end of 1913 (see advertisement at the end of the book (V. Markov, Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh iskusstvakh: Faktura, St. Petersburg, 1914), which states that The Chinese Flute "will come out in the first days of January [1914]".

160. When The Art of Easter Island appeared (V. Markov, Iskusstvo ostrova Paskhi, St. Petersburg, 1914), a note at the end stated that The Chinese Flute, would be published at the end of January and that Negro Art would be published in March 1914. Although The Chinese Flute (V. Markov, Svirel' Kitaya, St. Petersburg, 1914) carried a note saying that it had been printed in January 1914 (p. II), it did not appear in the Knizhnaya letopis' (St. Petersburg) until the week of 27 March to 3 April 1914. The Chinese Flute had been discussed as early as the Union of Youth committee meeting of 8 March 1913, where Zheverzheev, in Markov's absence, proposed its publication: see Russian Museum, Fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 22.

161. The Union of Youth's participation was advertised in the local press - see, for example, "Vystavka kartin", Baku (Baku) No. 69, 25 March 1914. Despite the apparent arrival of the works (ibid.), when the exhibition opened on 30 March there was no mention of Union of Youth participation - representatives of the avant-garde movement in the capitals appear restricted to Kul'bin and Grishchenko.

162. Eventually Zheverzheev managed to get Negro Art published (V. Markov, Iskusstvo negrov, (Petrograd) 1919. Among Markov's other works was an unpublished essay concerned with the eskimo sculpture of Northern Asia and an essay about the plastic symbols of Byzantium.

163. The translation of the Russian word faktura into English is problematic. Its multiple meaning has no English equivalent, as this section shows. Neither "texture" nor "facture" adequately convey the sense of the word. Likewise "feel" is too vague. Thus the word is left untranslated and its meaning for Markov is explained by the enquiry below.

164. A less hybrid apology for Neo-Primitivism, though tinged with Futurist references to the mechanised world, is to be found in Aleksandr Shevchenko's Neo-Primitivizm (ego teorii, ego vozmozhnosti, ego dostizheniya (Moscow 1913). Published in November 1913 and dated June 1913, the coincidence with of ideas with Faktura, and more especially Markov's previously published essays, is considerable. As could be expected, Shevchenko called for an abandonment of academic tradition and a renewal of primitive (especially Eastern) principles in art. Shevchenko had twice participated in Union of Youth exhibitions (1912), but generally, since 1912, had aligned himself with Larionov's groups.

165. M. [V. Matvejs], "Russkie Setsession", Rizhskaya mysl', 11 August 1910, No. 908, p. 3.

166. Markov, Faktura, pp. 67-68.

167. Ibid. p. 69.

168. It is interesting to note that on 28 May 1912 it was reported (Stolichnaya molva (Moscow), No. 246, p. 4) that Ivan Larionov, brother of Mikhail Larionov, had just set off for Polynesia in order to study Polynesian culture. It is also worth recalling that Baller wrote about Javanese puppet theatre in The Studio of Impressionists and that Kalmakov's paintings sometimes used Polynesian ornamentation (see Chapters One and Two).

169. As Humphreys has pointed out, Picasso's proto-Cubist period of monumental figure painting dominated Shchukin's collection of his work, and was heavily influential upon the Russian artists. Furthermore, Shchukin displayed African sculpture with his Picasso collection (see Humphreys, Cubo-Futurism in Russia, pp. 24-26).

171. See Chapter One.

172. Many appear to have been translated from Hans Bethge, Die Chinesische Flöte (Leipzig), undated. Six of the poems had previously been published without commentary in The Union of Youth (Nos. 1 and 2). Markov notes (Svirel' Kitaya, p. XVI) the unsatisfactoriness of the translations. The translator Egor'ev died on 2.5.1914, two days after Markov.

173. V. Markov, "Printsipy novago iskusstva", Soyuz molodezhi, No. 1, p. 13. Bowlt alters the meaning of the second example in his translation, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism (London), 1988, p. 29.

174. Soyuz molodezhi, No. 1, pp. 15-17.

175. Svirel' Kitaya, pp. 87, 63 and 80.

176. Ibid. p. III.

177. Ibid. p. VII.

CONCLUSION

This thesis represents the first attempt to fully analyse the development of the St. Petersburg avant-garde between 1908 and 1914. It has concentrated on the work of Nikolai Kul'bin and members of the Union of Youth, thereby recognising the fundamental role of both in the establishment of an artistic ambience particular to St. Petersburg. This ambience has been shown to involve an approach that was characterised by its retention of 'idealistic' and 'realistic' symbolism within a variety of modern styles.

Beginning with an introduction to Kul'bin's panpsychic ideas and their relation to his art, this thesis demonstrates their place and transmission within the context of the local Russian avant-garde. This, in turn, has established their symbolist and scientific heritage and their Neo-Primitivist potential. Kul'bin, a doctor and untrained artist, organised four art exhibitions between 1908 and 1910. These have been shown to reveal Kul'bin's particular attempt at renewal in art. Young artists were given an unprecedented public forum and through this displayed their interest in the expression of colour-music, mood and the spiritual content of art. Many old formulas for symbolism and impressionism were repeated, but innovation was felt, especially in the 1909 and 1910 exhibitions, in the 'impressionistic' and psychological relationship with nature seen in Kul'bin's, Matyushin's and Guro's work. These artists realized that the modern artist had to alter his consciousness in order to feel and express a universal truth.

This involved a belief in experiment and knowledge derived from experience through the senses. It also led to a new concentration on technique and included the use of Fauvist principles, known to the Russians through The Golden Fleece journal and exhibitions in 1909. Wreath exhibitors at the Triangle shows, including David Burlyuk and Guro, began to use native Russian folk motifs, as the Neo-Primitivist movement in Moscow got under way. In the case of the Muscovites, form now became more important than content and they began to deny the symbolists' transcendentalism.

The Triangle exhibitions and Kul'bin's lectures of 1909 and 1910 indicate that 'realistic' symbolism dominated the group at this stage. This encompassed a number of styles: an approach to nature reminiscent of French Impressionism (seen in Evseev's and David Burlyuk's work), *Art Nouveau* (especially evident in Kalmakov and Shmit-Ryzhova), Divisionist technique in the work of Kul'bin and Baranov, and synaesthetic use of colour in Nikolaev and Sinyagin. A certain degree of abstracting from nature was involved in all these styles and this allowed academic accuracy to be replaced by distortions of form, a lack of finish and a divergence from one point perspective. This stylistic variety was also compatible with Kul'bin's call for 'free art as the basis of life" because Triangle artists attempted to express the essence of a reality that lay beyond the visible world.

Kul'bin's theories are compared to those of Markov in Chapter Three, and as representatives of Triangle and the Union of Youth respectively, the ideas of these artists are particularly revealing about the shift in values that took place in Russian art at this

time. Markov's articles highlight the move from symbolist impressionism to Neo-Primitivism. Common to both trends is a continuing emphasis on spiritual content, as well as a call for a new social and cultural awareness, not only among artists but also the public at large. To a large extent, this was a reaction against the de-humanising effects of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century industrialisation of Russian society. Rapid technological progress had destroyed much of man's communication with nature and introduced a new poverty of spirit. This was particularly felt by Markov who sought rejected the "constructive" principles introduced to European art by the Greeks.[1] He called instead for a return to an individual and cultural response to beauty, devoid of external pre-conditions and evocative of the creator's own "tuning fork".[2] His interest in abstracting from nature and his empathy with nature suggest parallels with the ideas of Kandinsky, Marc and Worringer, supporting the notion that there was much in common between the Munich and Petersburg avant-garde.

The reasons for the founding of the Union of Youth are shown to include the desire for renewal in the arts and the lack of a place in existing societies for young artists. The statutes of the Union of Youth called for the "mutual rapprochement of people interested in the arts" and stated that the group sought self-appraisal and continual reassessment of aims, through the communal study of art.[3] This was to be attained through the establishment of a group studio, the organisation of exhibitions, discussions, dramatic productions, and the founding of an art library.

The Union of Youth's first exhibition was a relatively modest study in the transition from impressionism to Neo-Primitivism, although the latter was only represented by Larionov's and Goncharova's independently selected work. The formal experiments of Markov, Filonov and Shkol'nik were still burdened with metaphysical content. The second Union of Youth exhibition marked a far more emphatic break with academic art and, indeed, lived up to its name of "The Russian Secession". It attracted many non-Union of Youth exhibitors and displayed a broad variety of modern trends, from Naumov's decorative symbolism and Shitov's non-objective colour-music to Nagubnikov's Cézannism and Larionov's use of stone baba in his sculptures. Overt synthetism was found in Petrov-Vodkin's and Markov's work.

The 1910-1911 season has been shown to be remarkable for the new definition of direction that occurred, specifically with regard to the performance of "Khoromnyya Deistva". The multiple references in this event to the distinctions between 'high' and 'low', and 'European' and 'Russian' art indicate a pervasive commitment to the debasement of the static formulas, not only of urban theatre, but of the arts in general. Thus it was not simply a case of replacing "chairs with barrels" but it consisted of a far more vital transference of "lubok" motif and technique. Non-sequential shifts in space and time and the emphasis on native forms created a dramatic and provocative new dynamism. It has been observed that this is later strongly present in the creation of Victory over the Sun and Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, staged by the Union of Youth at the end of 1913.

From the examination of the relationship of the Union of Youth with the Donkey's Tail it is found that, despite the tensions that existed between the groups, they did share considerable common ground. This is demonstrated particularly by comparing Bobrov's theory of 'Purism' with Markov's "The Principles of the New Art". Differences arose because of the new factionalising spirit within the Russian avant-garde from 1912 onwards. Thus artists drawn to Larionov's more radical Neo-Primitivism left the Union of Youth and set up in opposition. Even Markov, the leading figure in the Union of Youth, was associated with Larionov's Donkey's Tail and Target groups. Henceforth, although the Petersburg group is seen to be less of a unifying society than previously, it retained its ability to attract young artists of various persuasions. L'vov's 'academic' tendency is compared to Rozanova's Neo-Primitivism - seen, for example, in On the Boulevard. Other artists, such as Shleifer and Zel'manova are observed generally to repeat Fauvist principles.

The increasing presence of Rozanova and Malevich is highlighted in the discussion of 1912 and 1913. An analysis of their contributions to the final Union of Youth exhibitions establishes that they continued to paint in a Neo-Primitivist manner until very late 1912 or early 1913. Only in 1913 did they adopt a Cubist idiom for their examination of creative principles and then they imbued it with a Futurist denial of a static object. Simultaneously, they began to perceive reality in an 'alogical' way, in collaboration with Kruchenykh and Matyushin, and this freed objects from their generally accepted functions and meanings,

giving them a new identity. This thesis has shown the profound relevance of both the Neo-Primitivist concentration on material and faktura, as expressed in Markov's theories, and the introduction of a new level of consciousness in Kul'bin's and Matyushin's ideas concerning the creation of art, to the subsequent move to zaum art and Cubo-Futurism. The retention of a "spiritual" content in the art of all these artists derived from the pervasive atmosphere of science, spiritualism, and occultism in the intellectual circles of St. Petersburg. It is this that distinguishes the Russian avant-garde from their European counterparts (although the latter were very influential for the form of the Russians' work).

However, it has been shown that it would be a mistake to consider the better known artists who participated with the Union of Youth (such as Malevich, Rozanova, Filonov, Matyushin and Markov), as the sole arbiters of its direction. Indeed, there were many other artists for whom both a 'spiritual' and a 'Russian' content was either irrelevant or subdued. The Union of Youth was a heterogenous organisation where the study of the formal aspects of art, devoid of extraneous influences, was not only justified but promoted. Nor was this study of form a straightforward reiteration of the Cubists' concern with volume and pictorial construction or the Futurists' desire to evoke dynamism and simultaneity. This is observed in the work of many members - in Zel'manova's and Shkol'nik's imitations of Matisse's decorative period, in Shleifer's pastoral-Neo-Primitivism, Dydyshko's Impressionism, Nagubnikov's still-life compositions and Spandikov's Steinlenian references to the low life of Paris. To an extent, despite tinges

of mysticism, it is also true of the proclamations and art of the Burlyuk brothers, who sporadically made their presence felt during the Union of Youth's final years.

The nature of the Union of Youth's public appearances has also been examined. The invitation to the Burlyuks, Malevich, Mayakovsky and Grishchenko to participate in its events is seen as evidence of the group's modernising ambitions but only partially serves to determine its identity. This is more precisely found in the group's exhibitions and publications. The Credo and third issue of The Union of Youth journal published in March 1913, for instance, highlight the prominence of Rozanova, Baller and Shkol'nik and affirms the group's new orientation towards a Futurist stance for revitalising the arts. This interest in Futurism and an orientation towards modern trends in Europe as well as ancient Eastern art, is revealed in the very first publications of the group - Markov's 1910 "The Russian Secession" and the first two numbers of The Union of Youth, published during 1912.

Although Zheverzheev and Shkol'nik tried to revive the Union of Youth in 1917, its force, and even *raison d'être*, was spent after the performance of Victory over the Sun so the attempt failed.[4] This thesis regards the Futurist performances staged by the Union of Youth at the end of 1913, while not integral to the group itself, as a statement of the new worldview that they had encouraged. With the presentation of this new worldview, the old order had to be abandoned and, with it, old affiliations and established groups. As if colluding with this, the performance of Victory over the Sun occasioned a dispute in the Union of Youth's

ranks that ended with the group being wound up. Zheverzheev, who had personally agreed to subsidise the production, was upset by the scandal it created, especially as the public had been charged very high prices for tickets. He argued with Kruchenykh about payment and refused Matyushin's request to return Malevich's designs.[5] These events led several Union of Youth members to seek official curtailment of the group's collaboration with Hylaea in a letter to Zheverzheev of 6 December 1913.[6] He responded by refusing to subsidise future ventures, and as a result only the books by Markov, for whom Zheverzheev always seems to have retained respect, were published. Planned exhibitions and the fourth issue of The Union of Youth were cancelled. The Union of Youth had served its purpose. It had brought artists together without dogma or preconditions, but its attempts to unify disparate tendencies, at a time of fierce competition for originality, were bound to fail as new allegiances and factions emerged. By early January 1914, Filonov, for example, already sought to establish his own "Intimate Studio of Painters and Draughtsmen". While he sought an alliance with Malevich and Matyushin, he rejected the company of Rozanova and Burlyuk.[7]

One of the important aspects to emerge from this examination of Kul'bin's early ideas and the Union of Youth is their particular means of renewal in the arts, within the symbolist ambience of St. Petersburg. Their retention of a mystical content and assimilation of Neo-Primitivist principles has been shown not to be a narrowly based attempt to establish a definite movement or school, but rather a vaguely formulated desire to rediscover the principles of

beauty. Within the Union of Youth only the essays of Markov and, to a lesser extent, Rozanova strove to encapsulate the influences and, ultimately, the purpose of their art. The investigation undertaken in this thesis has indicated the importance of Kul'bin's, Matyushin's and Markov's ideas in determining the Petersburg avant-garde's move into abstraction and transrationalism. It has also shown that the groups in which they worked essentially lagged behind them in their enquiry into artistic principles and content.

By analysing of the sequence of events concerning Triangle and the Union of Youth, the transformation of painterly styles in Russia between 1908 and 1914 is more clearly identified. This period has been shown to mark the transition from *fin-de-siècle* symbolism via Neo-Primitivism to Cubo-Futurism, with the reception of Fauvist and Cubist principles and Futurist ideas playing a fundamental role. Members of Triangle and the Union of Youth were not predominantly innovative in their formal solutions, but the establishment of the groups brought together several artists capable not only of abandoning Russian art's reliance on post-Renaissance classical principles, but also of bringing Russian art to the forefront of the European avant-garde.

FOOTNOTES

1. See V. Markov, "Printsipy novogo iskusstva", Soyuz molodezhi, No. 1, St. Petersburg, 1912, pp. 5-14.

2. See V. Markov, Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh iskusstvakh: Faktura, St. Petersburg, 1914.

3. Ustav Obschestva khudozhnikov "Soyuza Molodezhi", Russian Museum, Leningrad, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 2, l. 25.

4. On 21 March 1917 a General Meeting of the Union of Youth was convened by Zheverzheev and Shkol'nik (see Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 29). It was agreed "to revive the activity of the Society with respect to exhibitions etc." New members were elected and future meetings arranged. The chairman remained Zheverzheev and the secretary Shkol'nik. The list of members (Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 7) included Spandikov, Shleifer, Rozanova, Dydyshko, Zel'manova, Potipaka, Baudouin de Courtenay, David Burlyuk, Puni, Lyubavina, Lermontova, Altman and Tatlin. New members included Annenkov, Chagall, Karev, Denisov, Turova, S. V. Voinov, Bruni, Udal'tsova, Miturich and Tyrsa. Significantly, Matyushin and Malevich's names are absent and there is no mention of co-operation with the Futurist poets. However, only a few meetings were held before the summer, and with the revolutionary events of the autumn the enterprise failed to get off the ground.

5. See M. Matyushin, "Russkie kubo-futuristy", in N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, (Stockholm, 1976), p. 153.

6. Ibid. p. 158.

7. See Filonov's letter to Matyushin cited in N. Misler, J. Bowlt ed., Pavel Filonov: A Hero and His Fate, (Austin, 1983), pp. 139-143. It is also worth noting that Malevich resigned from the Union of Youth in January 1914 (see Russian Museum, fond 121, op. 1, ed. khr. 27, l. 1) after the row concerning the Victory over the Sun. By 21 February 1914 he wrote to Rozanova referring to the "unfortunate Union", asking who else was leaving it and confirming his and Morgunov's permanent resignation (see Russian Museum, fond 134, op. 1, ed. khr. 71, l. 1). Coincidentally he confirms his intention to participate in an exhibition organised by Kul'bin ("... give him my regards and thank him for his attention").

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ed. khr. 13 'Doklad Larionova'; 'Doklad N.D. Burlyuka - "P.N. Filonov - zavershitel' psikhologicheskago intimizma"'. 'O noveishei russkoi literature'; 'Credo Soyuza molodezhi'; 'Doklad A.V. Grishchenko'.
ed. khr. 15 'Proekt ustava'.
ed. khr. 39 Larionov letters to Shkol'nik.
ed. khr. 41 Malevich letters to Shkol'nik.
ed. khr. 42 Marc letter to Markov.
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NIKOLAI KUL'BIN AND THE UNION OF YOUTH 1908 - 1914

PhD Thesis

University of St. Andrews

Jeremy Howard

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Volume II: Plates

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3.22 V. MARKOV [V. Matvejs], Study (City Square). Oil on canvas, 13.5 x 20. Museum of Art, Riga.

3.23 A. MARQUET, Ciboure, 1907. Oil on canvas, 37.5 x 31. Private Collection, New York.

3.24 V. MARKOV [V. Matvejs], Study (Two Women and Infant). Oil on canvas, 12 x 18. Museum of Art, Riga.

3.25 V. MARKOV [V. Matvejs], Study (Four Figures). Oil on canvas, 30 x 32.6. Museum of Art, Riga.

3.26. V. MARKOV [V. Matvejs], Study (Man with a Horse). Oil on canvas, 13.5 x 20. Museum of Art, Riga.

4.1 Inside Cover for Studiya Impressionistov, 1910.

4.2 Two mid-fourteenth Century Novgorodian Initials "Д", from a Psalter (left) and a Liturgicon (right). Reproduced in R. Zguta, Russian Minstrels (Oxford, 1978), p. 71.

4.3 "Khoromnyya deistva", Reproduction from Ogonek (St. Petersburg), No. 6, 5 February 1911.

4.4 Anika the Warrior and Death, Seventeenth Century lubok. Woodcut, 55.5 x 71.5. Historical Museum, Moscow.

4.5 Poster for the Union of Youth's 1911 Exhibition.

4.6 "Vtoraya vystavka Soyuza molodezhi v S. Peterburge". Reproduction from Ogonek No. 17, 23 April 1911. Clockwise from top left: S. Baudouin de Courtenay, Part of a Frieze; N. Goncharova, In Church; E. Spandikov, Apaches; Baudouin de Courtenay, Scene in a Tavern.

4.7 E. SPANDIKOV, Self-Portrait (My Self). Tempera on cardboard, 45 x 29.5. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

4.8 S. SHLEIFER, Shepherd Boy. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi (St. Petersburg, 1912), No. 2.

4.9 GIOTTO, St. Francis preaching to the Birds. 1297-1300, Upper Church, Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi.

4.10 V. BELKIN, Fruit against a Blue Background. Oil on canvas, 107 x 130, Russian Museum, Leningrad.

4.11 O. ROZANOVA, The Restaurant. Oil on canvas, 36 x 42.8. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

4.12 P. FILONOV, Heads, 1910. Oil on canvas, 28.5 x 47.5. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

4.13 P. KONCHALOVSKII, The Matador Manuel Garta. 1910. Oil on canvas, 81 x 100. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

4.14 H. MATISSE, Green Stripe (Madame Matisse), 1905. Oil and tempera on canvas, 37 x 30. State Art Museum, Copenhagen.

4.15 I. MASHKOV, Portrait of a Young Man in an Embroidered Shirt, 1909. Oil on canvas, 119.5 x 80. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

4.16 I. MASHKOV, Still-Life with Plums. 1910. Oil on canvas. 80.7 x 116.2. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

4.17 D. BURLYUK, Horses. Oil on canvas, 43 x 52.5. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

4.18 V. BURLYUK, Landscape. 1912. Oil on canvas, Dudakov Collection, Moscow.

4.19 V. BURLYUK, Landscape. 1911. Oil on canvas. Reproduced in Der Blaue Reiter Almanac. p. 60.

4.20 V. BURLYUK, Portrait of Guro. Reproduced in Sadok Sudei (St. Petersburg, 1910).

4.21 V. BURLYUK, Portrait of the Poet Khlebnikov. Lithograph.

4.22 A. MORGUNOV, Portrait of Goncharova and Larionov [?], Oil on canvas, 104 x 136.5. The Art Institute of Chicago.

4.23 K. MALEVICH, Chiropodist at the Baths. Gouache on paper, 77.7 x 103, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

4.24 K. MALEVICH, Seed-Beds (Carrying Earth). Gouache on paper, 70 x 106, Private Collection.

4.25 M. LARIONOV, Self-Portrait. Oil on canvas, 104 x 89. Private Collection, Paris.

4.26 M. LARIONOV, Bread. Oil on canvas, 102 x 84. Private Collection, Paris.

4.27 N. GONCHAROVA, In Church. Oil on canvas, 102 x 72. Private Collection, Paris.

4.28 N. GONCHAROVA, The Woodcutter. Oil on canvas, 102 x 72 Lunacharskii Art Museum, Krasnodar.

4.29 V. TATLIN, Naval Uniforms. Watercolour and gouache on paper 6.5 x 5.3. Bakhrushin Theatrical Museum, Moscow.

4.30 V. TATLIN, Self-Portrait. Oil on canvas, 104 x 88. Kostroma Art Museum.

5.1 "Vystavka kartin obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Soyuz molodezhi' v SPb.", Ogonek, No. 4, 21 January 1912. Reproductions, clockwise from top: S. BOBROV, Cyclops; V. NOVODVORSKAYA, Picking Fruit; A. ZEL'MANOVA, Margueritte.

5.2 P. POTIPAKA, Earth. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No. 2.

5.3 H. MATISSE, Marguerite. Reproduced in D. Gordon, Modern Art Exhibitions 1900-1916, Vol. I (Munich, 1974) p. 166, Plate 497..

5.4 O. ROZANOVA, On the Boulevard, Oil on canvas, reproduced in Iskusstvo, (Moscow, 1989), No. 1, p. 26.

5.5 O. ROZANOVA, Still-Life with Furled Drawings, 1911. Smolensk State Museum-Reserve.

5.6 P. FILONOV, Sketch [Adoration of the Magi]. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No. 2.

5.7 I. MASHKOV, Self-Portrait with Konchalovskii, 1910. Private Collection, Leningrad.

5.8 N. GONCHAROVA, Fishing. Oil on canvas, 112 x 100. Hutton Gallery, New York.

5.9 N. GONCHAROVA, Larionov and his Platoon Leader. Oil on canvas 119 x 97. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

5.10 N. GONCHAROVA, Reapers. Reproduced in E. Eganbyuri [I. Zdanevich], Larionov. Goncharova (Moscow, 1913).

5.11 M. LARIONOV, Head of a Sailor. Galerie Jean Chauvelin, Paris.

5.12 V. TATLIN, Fishmonger, 1911. Gum Paints on board, 77 x 99. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

5.13 V. TATLIN, Hall in the Castle, 1911. Watercolour, gum paints and gouache on card, 80 x 93. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

5.14 V. TATLIN, Stage Design for Tsar Maksem'yan, 1911. Watercolour and pencil on paper, 50 x 68. State Theatrical Museum, Leningrad.

5.15 V. TATLIN, Tsar Maksem'yan's Throne, 1911. Watercolour on paper, 49.5 x 52.4. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

5.16 V. TATLIN, Skorokhod-Marshal, 1911. Watercolour on paper, 24 x 17.1. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

5.17 V. TATLIN, Venus the Beauty, 1911. Watercolour on paper 24 x 16.4. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

5.18 K. MALEVICH, On the Boulevard, 1911. Gouache on paper, 72 x 71. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

5.19 K. MALEVICH, Argentinian Polka, 1911. Gouache on paper, 104 x 68.5. Aberbach Collection, New York.

5.20 "Argentinskaya Pol'ka". Photograph in Ogonek No. 46, 12 November 1911.

5.21 I. SHKOL'NIK, Winter. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No. 2.

5.22 K. MALEVICH, Man with a Sack, 1911. Gouache on paper, 88 x 71. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

5.23 K. MALEVICH, Floor Polishers, 1911. Gouache on paper, 77.7 x 71. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

5.24 K. MALEVICH, Sketch (Harvest). Pencil on Paper, 9.2 x 14 Russian Museum, Leningrad.

5.25 K. MALEVICH, Peasant Women in Church. Oil on canvas, 75 x 97.5. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

5.26. N. GONCHAROVA, Peacock in Bright Sunshine. Oil on canvas, 129 x 144. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

5.27 N. GONCHAROVA, White Peacock. Reproduced in Eganbyuri, Larionov, Goncharova.

5.28 N. GONCHAROVA, Harvest. Oil on canvas, 92 x 99. Museum of Fine Arts, Omsk.

5.29 Cover of Soyuz Molodezhi, No.2, 1912. Persian Miniature.

5.30 Early Seventh Century Japanese Buddhist Sculpture (Kannon). Bronze. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No.1, 1912.

6.1 Z. MOSTOVA, Roofs. St. Petersburg, 1912. Oil on cardboard, 48 x 51. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

6.2 I. SHKOL'NIK, Still-Life with Vases. Oil on canvas, 65 x 79 Russian Museum, Leningrad.

6.3 O. ROZANOVA, The Red House. Oil on canvas, 85 x 98. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

6.4 O. ROZANOVA, The Smithy. Oil on canvas, 90 x 98. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

6.5 "Vystavka 'Soyuza molodezhi' ('Kubistov') v Peterburge", Ogonek, No.1, January 1913. Reproductions from top left: K. MALEVICH, Portrait of Ivan Vasil'evich Klyunkov, In the Fields, Peasant Funeral; E. SPANDIKOV, Lady with Guitar; O. ROZANOVA, Portrait of A.V. Rozanova.

6.6 O. ROZANOVA, Seated Lady. Illustration to Soyuz Molodezhi, No.3, 1913.

6.7 M. MATYUSHIN, Dancer. Wooden root, 44 x 46.5 x 18. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

6.8 D. BURLYUK, Landscape from Four Points of View. Oil on canvas. Reproduced in B. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer (J. Bowlt ed., Newtonville, 1977), p.47.

6.9 V. BURLYUK, Portrait of Livshits. Oil on canvas, 45.7 x 35.5. Jaffe Collection, New York.

6.10 V. BURLYUK, Heliotropism. Reproduced in B. Livshits, Gileya, New York, 1931, p.14.

6.11 V. TATLIN, Sailor. Oil on canvas, 71.5 x 71.5. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

6.12 K. MALEVICH, Taking in the Rye. Oil on canvas, 72 x 74.5 Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

6.13 K. MALEVICH, The Woodcutter. Oil on canvas, 94 x 71.5 Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

6.14 N. GONCHAROVA, The Wine Drinkers. Reproduced in Eganbyuri, Larionov, Goncharova.

6.15 N. GONCHAROVA, The City at Night. Reproduced in Eganbyuri Larionov, Goncharova.

6.16 M. LARIONOV, Spring. Oil on canvas, 77 x 61. Private Collection, Paris.

6.17 M. LARIONOV, Blue Rayism (Portrait of a Fool). Oil on canvas, 59 x 63.4. Tsherkinsky Collection, Paris.

6.18 M. LARIONOV, Rayist Sausage and Mackerel. Oil on canvas, 46 x 61. Ludwig Collection, Cologne.

7.1 Poster for Union of Youth Debates on Modern Painting and Literature, 23 and 24 March 1913. Inset pictures by V. Burlyuk.

7.2 I. SHKOL'NIK, Wash-House Bridge. Petersburg. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No.3, 1913.

7.3 I. SHKOL'NIK, Cover for Soyuz Molodezhi No.3, 1913.

7.4 I. SHKOL'NIK, Two Vases. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi No.3, 1913.

7.5 I. SHKOL'NIK, Two Boats. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi No.3, 1913.

7.6 I. SHKOL'NIK, Landscape. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No.3, 1913.

7.7 I. SHKOL'NIK, Abstract Composition. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No.3, 1913.

7.8 O. ROZANOVA, Townscape. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi, No.3, 1913.

7.9 U. BOCCIONI, The Street enters the House, 1912. Oil on canvas 90.5 x 90.5. Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, Hannover.

7.10 M. LARIONOV, Illustration to Starinnaya Lyubov (Moscow, 1912), p.7.

7.11 O. ROZANOVA, Landscape. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi. No. 3, 1913.

7.12 O. ROZANOVA, "Landscape". Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi. No. 3, 1913.

7.13 O. ROZANOVA, Abstract Composition. Lithograph. Reproduced in Soyuz Molodezhi No. 3, 1913.

7.14 C. CARRÀ, Rhythms of Lines. Oil on canvas, 60 x 50. Carrà Collection, Milan.

8.1 E. GURO, Sketch. Watercolour on paper, 19 x 14 approx. TsGALI

8.2 E. GURO, Sketch. Watercolour on paper, 15 x 12.5 approx. TsGALI.

8.3 E. GURO, Two Pines. Illustration to Sadok Sudei II (St. Petersburg, 1913).

8.4 E. GURO, Little Window. Watercolour on paper. TsGALI.

8.5 E. GURO, Pines. Watercolour on paper. TsGALI.

8.6 K. MALEVICH, Morning in the Village after the Snowstorm. Oil on canvas, 80 x 79.7. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.

8.7 K. MALEVICH, The Knife-Grinder. Oil on canvas, 80 x 80. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

8.8 K. MALEVICH, Completed Portrait of Ivan Klyun. Oil on canvas, 112 x 70. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

8.9 K. MALEVICH, Head of a Peasant Girl. Oil on canvas, 80 x 95. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

8.10 K. MALEVICH, Samovar. Oil on canvas, 89 x 61. Rostov Art Museum.

8.11 K. MALEVICH, Musical Instrument/Lamp. Oil on canvas, 83.5 x 69.5. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

8.12 P. PICASSO, Violin and Guitar, 1913. Oil on canvas, 65 x 54. The Hermitage, Leningrad.

8.13 P. FILONOV, Feast of Kings, 1913. Oil on canvas, 175 x 215. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

8.14 P. FILONOV, Man and Woman. Watercolour and ink on paper, 31 x 23.3. Russian Museum, Leningrad.

8.15 O. ROZANOVA, Construction of a House, 1913. Oil on canvas. Reproduced in Iskusstvo (Moscow, 1989), No. 1, p. 27.

8.16 O. ROZANOVA, Port. Oil on canvas, 100.3 x 79.2. Leonard Hutton Galleries, New York.

8.17 O. ROZANOVA, Man in the Street. Oil on canvas, 83 x 61.5. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano.

8.18 C. CARRÀ, Plastic Transcendencies. Oil on canvas, 60 x 50. Carrà Collection, Milan.

8.19 O. ROZANOVA, Dissonance (Directional Lines), 1913. Oil on canvas, 104.1 x 81.9. Private Collection.

8.20 V. TATLIN, Composition Analysis, 1913. Pencil and gouache on paper, 49 x 33. Kapitsa Collection, Moscow.

8.21 FEOFAN GREK, Madonna and Child. Fourteenth Century icon, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

8.22 D. BURLYUK, Conductor of the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra (opera "Lakme"). Reproduced: "Vystavka kartin 'Soyuza molodezhi' v Peterburge", Ogonek, No. 48, 1 December 1913.

8.23 S. ROMANOVICH, The Military Orchestra. Reproduced in Ogonek, April 1914.

8.24 M. SINYAKOVA, Untitled work. Reproduced: "Vystavka kartin 'Soyuza molodezhi' v Peterburge", Ogonek, No. 48, 1 December 1913.

8.25 I. KLYUN, Jug. Oil on canvas, 49 x 44. Rostov Art Museum.

8.26 A. MORGUNOV, The Aviator's Study, 1913. Gouache on canvas, 50.5 x 36. Costakis Collection.

8.27 A. EKSTER, Genoa. Oil on canvas, 115.5 x 86.5. Gmurzynska Gallery, Cologne.

8.28 R. DELAUNAY, City of Paris, 1912. Oil on canvas, 240 x 364.5 Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris.

8.29 I. SHKOL'NIK, The Provinces. Reproduced: "Vystavka kartin 'Soyuza molodezhi' v Peterburge", Ogonek, No. 48, 1 December 1913.

8.30 A. ZEL'MANOVA, Self-Portrait. Reproduced: "Vystavka kartin 'Soyuza molodezhi' v Peterburge", Ogonek, No. 48, 1 December 1913.

8.31 K. DYDYSHKO, Sheds, 1913. Reproduced: Novyi Zhurnal dlya Vsekh, No. 10, 1915, p. 15.

8.32 K. DYDYSHKO, Landscape. Reproduced: Novyi Zhurnal dlya Vsekh, No. 10, 1915, p. 4.

8.33 I. PUNI, Walk in the Sun. Oil on canvas, 79 x 62. Berninger Collection, Zurich.

8.34 N. AL'TMAN, Jewish Funeral, 1911. Tempera on canvas, 90 x 105. Schogoleva-Al'tman Collection, Leningrad.

8.35 Newspaper Advertisement for "The First 4 Performances of Futurist Theatre in the World", December 1913.

8.36 O. ROZANOVA, Poster for "The First Performance of Futurist Theatre in the World" December 1913.

8.37 K. MALEVICH, Budetlyan Strongman, 1913. Crayon on paper 27 x 21. Leningrad Theatrical Museum.

8.38 K. MALEVICH, The Mugger, 1913. Crayon and watercolour on paper, 26.7 x 21. Leningrad Theatrical Museum.

8.39 K. MALEVICH, Sketch for a Stage-Design Victory over the Sun Scene 6, Act 2, 1913.

8.40 K. MALEVICH, Stage-Design. Victory over the Sun. Photograph of Scene 1, Act 1.

8.41 K. MALEVICH Portrait of Matyushin. Author of the Futurist Opera 'Victory over the Sun', 1913. Oil on canvas, 106.5 x 106.7. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

8.42 Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy. Sketch "from life" by S.V. Zhivotovskii. Reproduced in Ogonek, 22 December 1913, No.51.

8.43 I. SHKOL'NIK, Sketch for a Stage Design Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy Act 1, 1913. Gouache on paper, 12.6 x 20.5. Leningrad Theatrical Museum.

8.44 I. SHKOL'NIK, Sketch for a Stage-Design Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, Act 1, 1913.

8.45 I. SHKOL'NIK, Sketch for a Stage-Design Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, Act 2, 1913.

8.46 Easter Island Stone Sculpture. Photographs from V. Markov, Iskusstvo ostrova Paskhi, 1914.

8.47 Easter Island Wooden Sculpture. Photographs from V. Markov, Iskusstvo ostrova Paskhi, 1914.

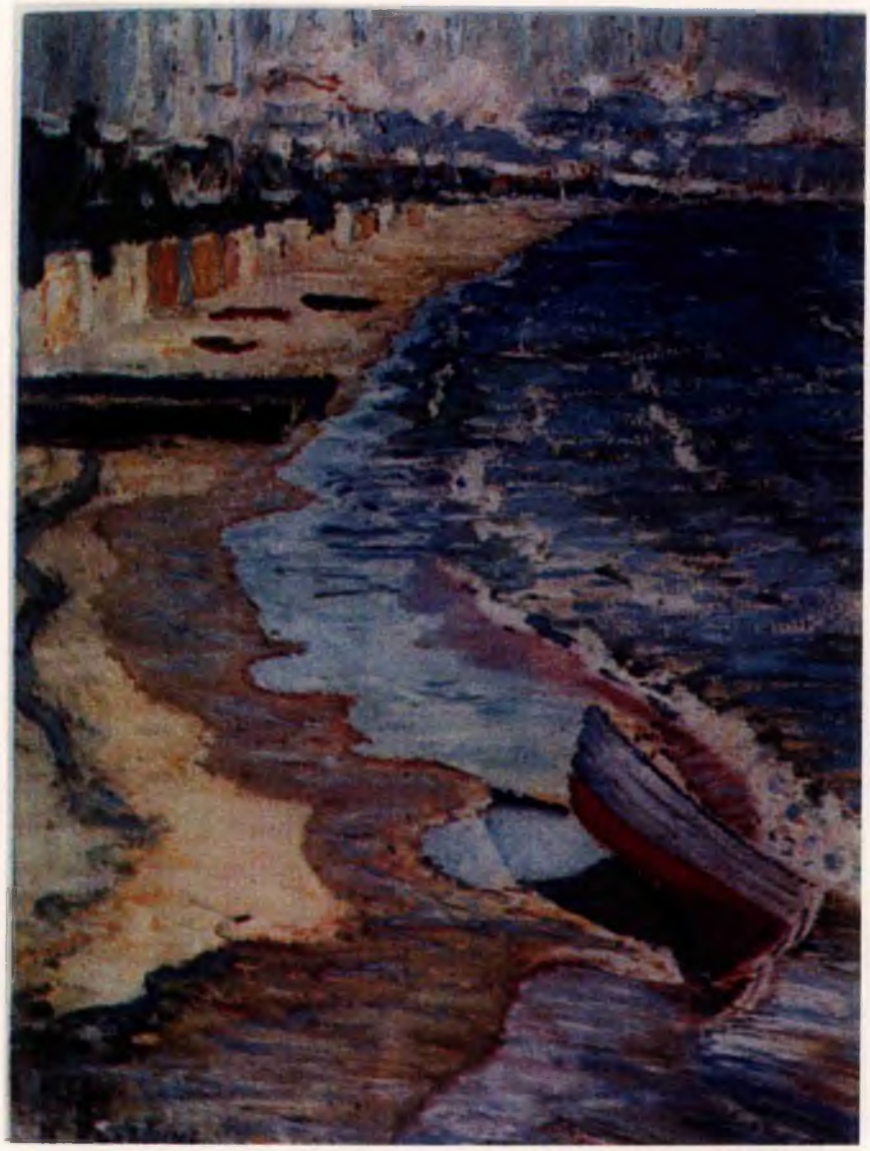
1.1 Kul'bin in his Studio, c. 1910.

1.2 Vrubel, Lilac. 1900.

1.3 Kuznetsov, Blue Fountain, 1905

1.4 Kul'bin, Landscape.

1.5 Kul'bin, Simeiz, 1907.



1.6 Kul'bin, Coast at Kuokkala, c. 1909.

1.7 Kul'bin, Pine Trees, c.1909.

1.8 Kalmakov, Death, 1913.

1.9 Blank, E.P. Kul'bina at her Dacha. Kuokkala, 1909.

1.10 V. Burlyuk, Flowers. c. 1909.

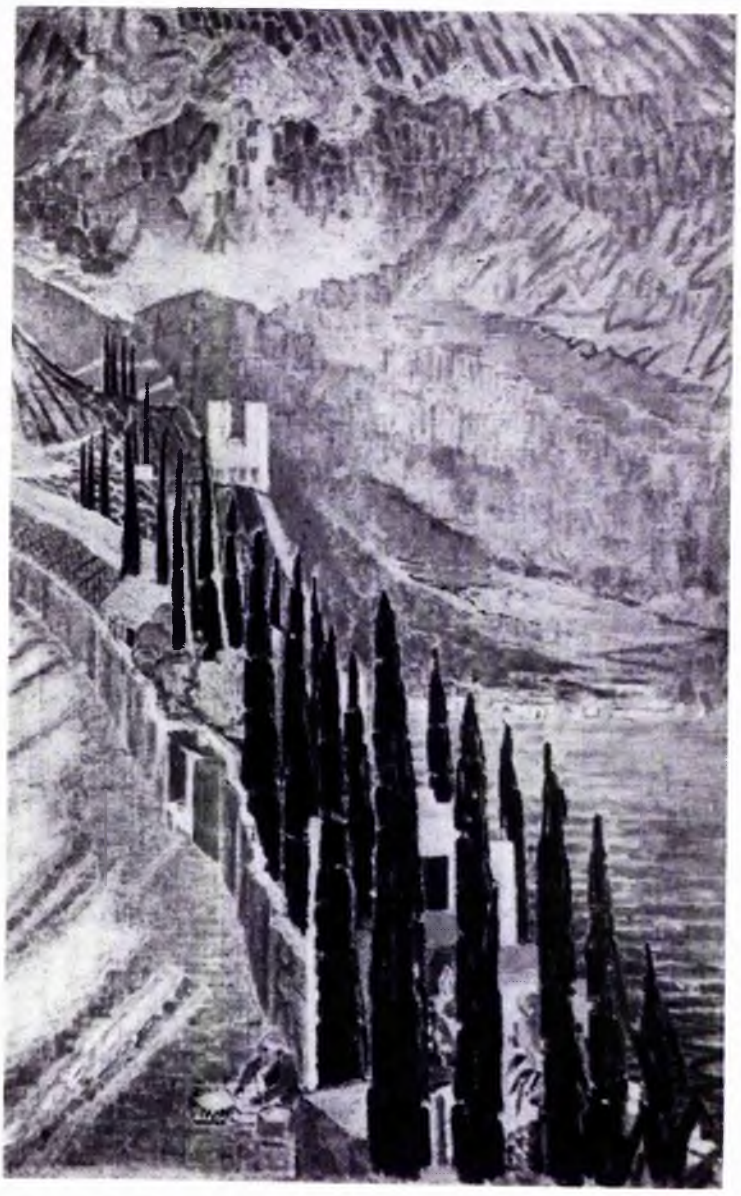
1.11 D. Burlyuk, Houses on the Steppe, 1908.

1.12 Monet, Les Glacons, 1880.

1.13 D. Burlyuk, Morning. Wind, c.1908.

1.14 Van Gogh, Les Chaumieres, 1890.

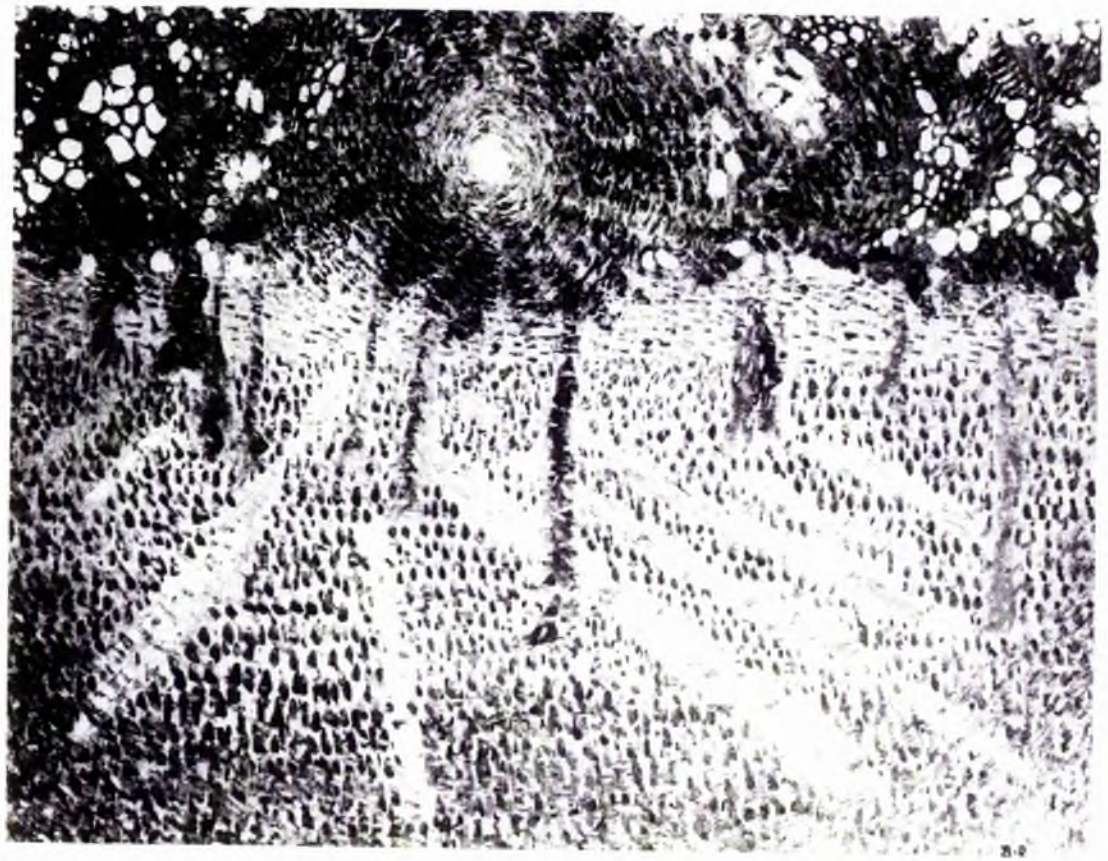
2.1 Photograph of The Impressionists/Triangle Group at their Exhibition, St. Petersburg, March 1909.



2.2 Kul'bin, The Crimea. c. 1908.

2.3 Dunichev-Andreev, Illustration to The Studio of Impressionists, 1910.

2.4 Borisov-Musatov, Requiem, 1905.



2.5 Baranov, Sunrise, 1909.

2.6 Guro, Cover of The Hurdy-Gurdy, 1909.

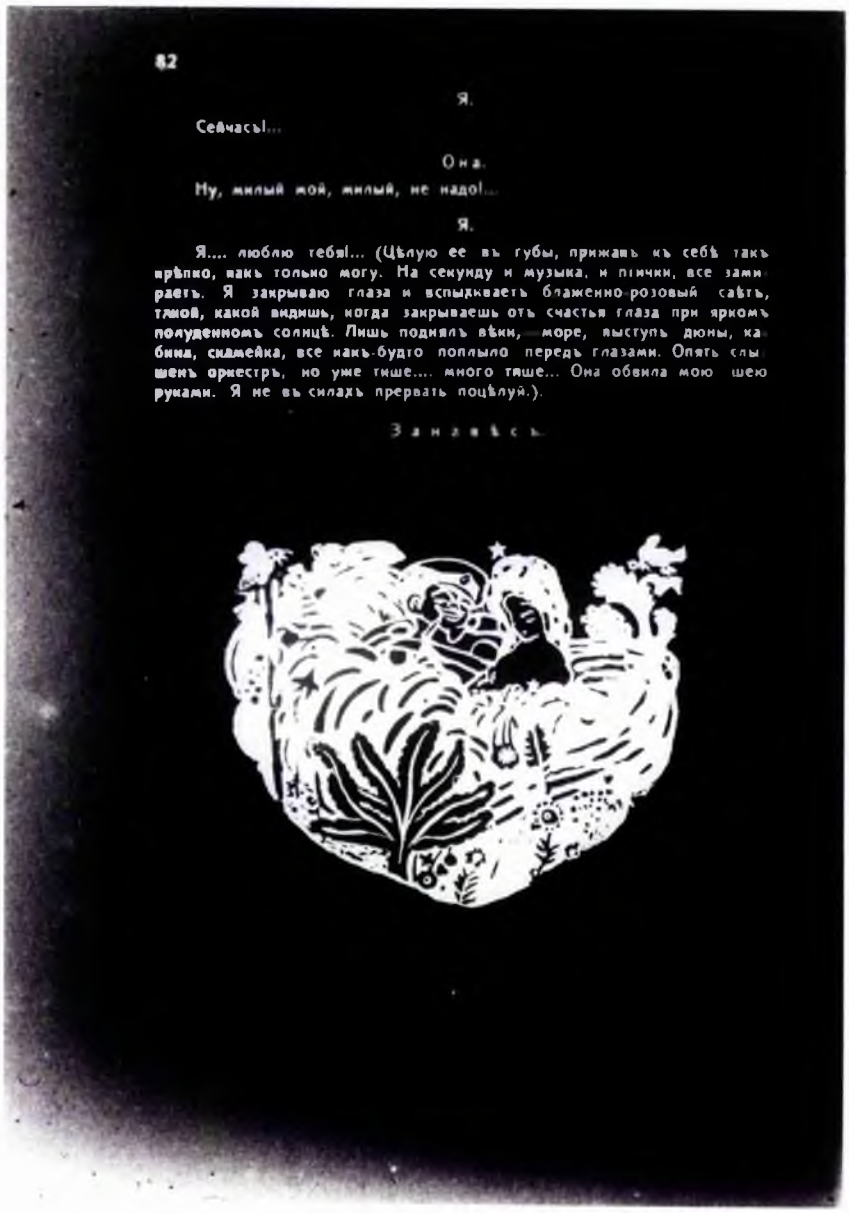
2.7 Matyushin, Pink House, c. 1909.

2.8 Matyushin, Landscape, 1908.

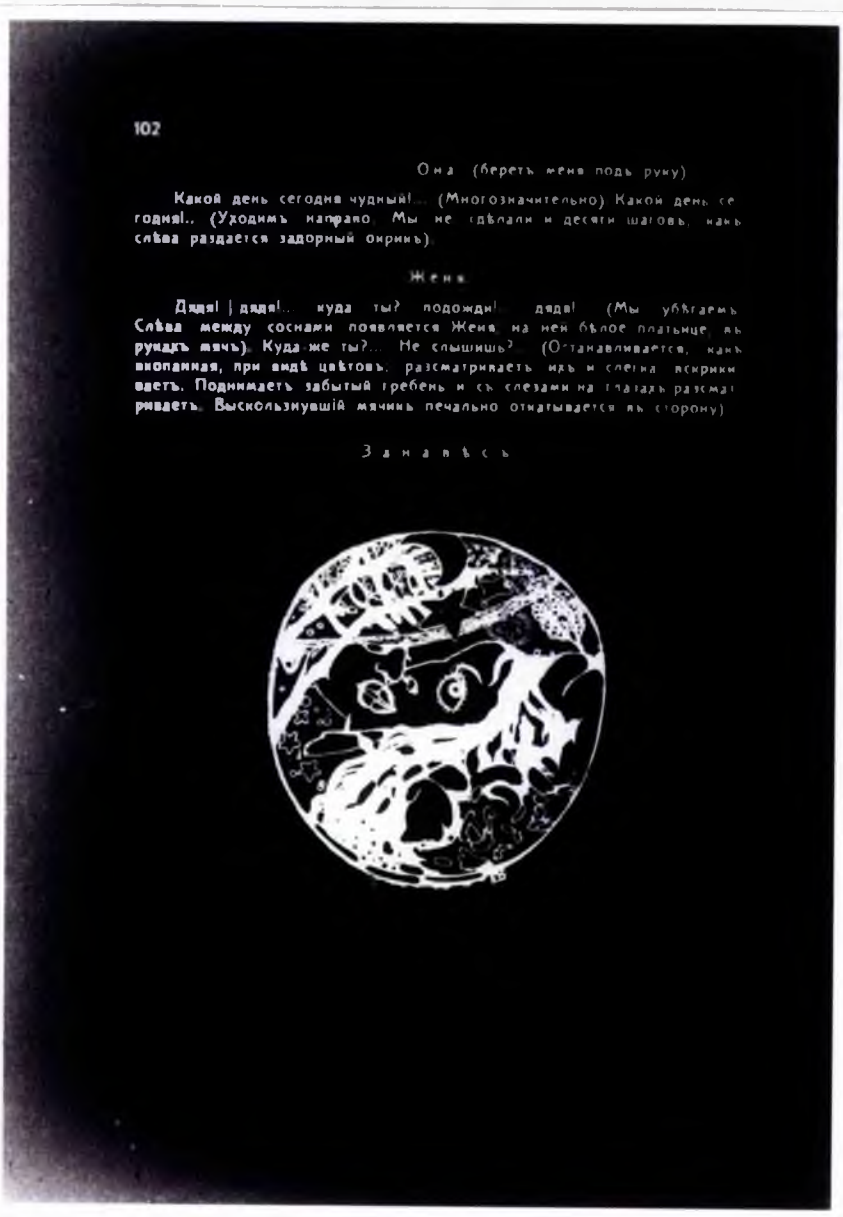
2.9 Kamenskii, Perm Forest, 1911.

2.10 D. Burlyuk, Horses, c.1910.

2.11 Kul'bin Landscape with Cows. 1913.



2.12 Vashchenko, Illustration to The Studio of Impressionists, 1910.



2.13 Vashchenko, Illustration to The Studio of Impressionists, 1910.

2.14 Kozlinskii, Nuremburg, c. 1909.

2.15 D. Burlyuk, Red Earth, 1909.

ИМПРЕССІОНИСТЫ.

А. Дидерихсъ.
Передъ танцемъ.

М. Ширяевъ. Въ пустынѣ

М. Вернеръ. Эскизъ.

А. Дунычевъ-Андреевъ. Панно.

Н. Кульбинъ. Символъ.

Е. Ващенко. Обложка.

П. Рымша. Голгова.

Plate 2.16a

(текстъ см. стр. 20).

ИМПРЕССІОНИСТЫ.

„ВѢНОКЪ“

К. Дыдышко. Эскизъ

Д. Бурлюкъ. Портретъ.

В. Каменскій
Пасха Хвостова

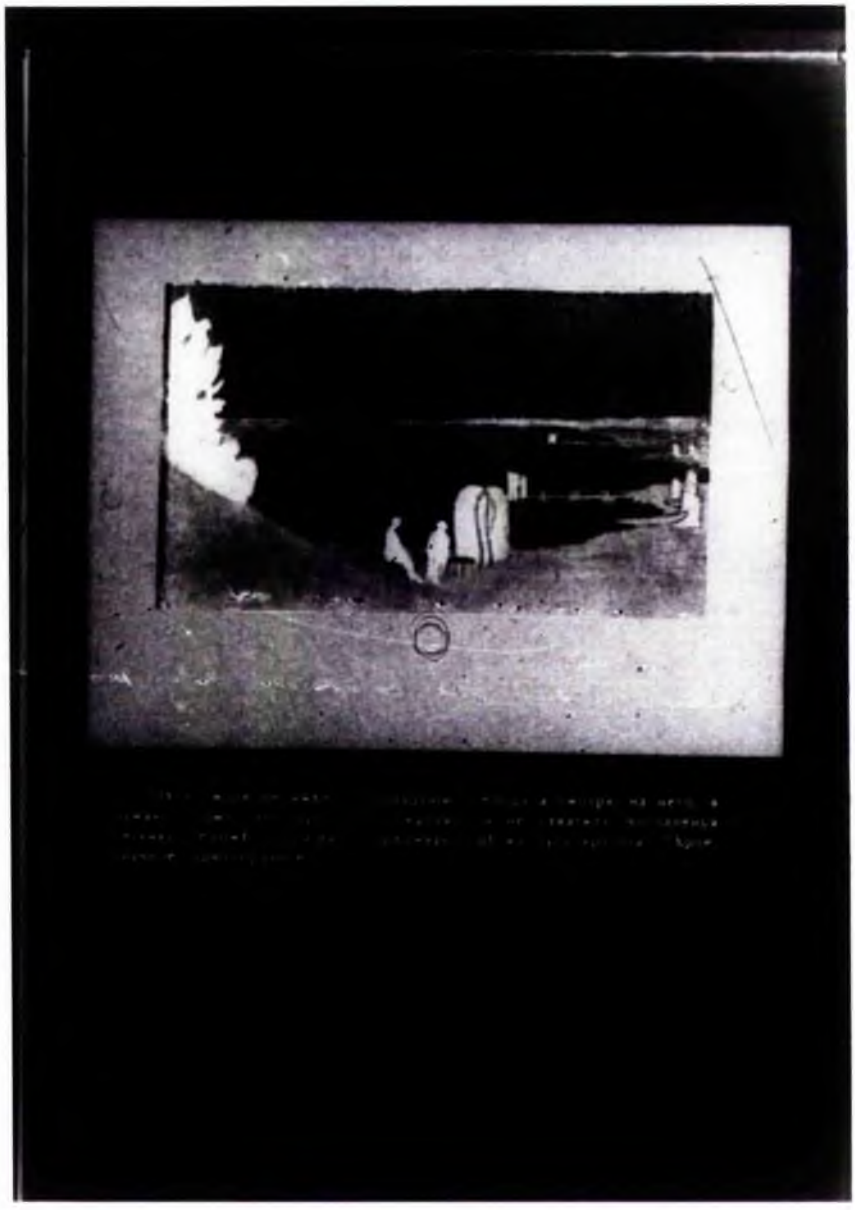
В. Бурлюкъ. Херсонскій портъ.

2.16b

Рисунки современныхъ писателей на выставкѣ импрессіонистовъ.

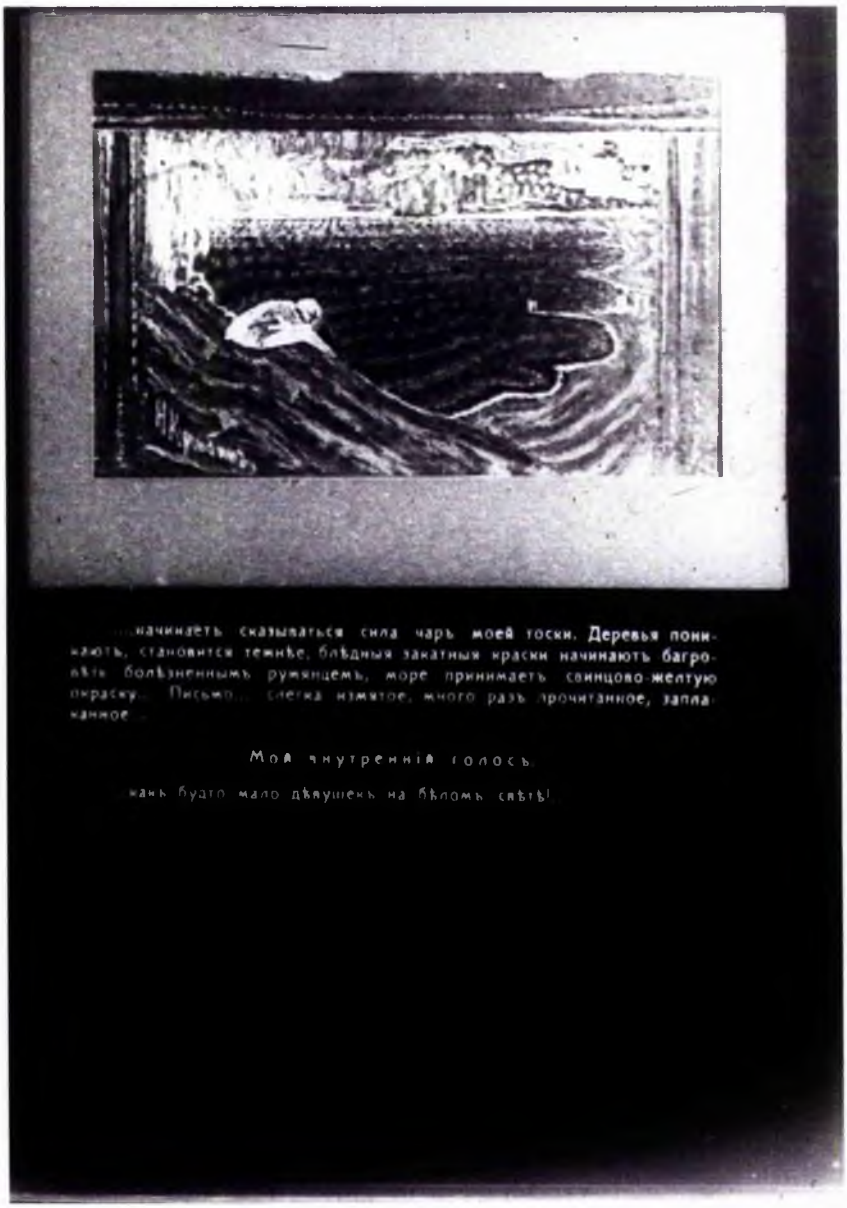
руппа участниковъ выставки.—1) Н. А. Шмидтъ. 2) Н. Н. Кольчинъ. 3) Н. Е. Кольчина. 4) Е. Ф. Шмитъ-Рыжова. 5) Е. Н. Герстъ-Рыжова. 6) Н. Н. Евреиновъ. 7) В. Н. Кисличкинъ. 8) Ю. Сезакинъ. 9) Г. Д. Бурлюкъ. 10) Г. Н. Вашенко. 11) В. Д. Бурлюкъ. 12) Н. И. Шестеровъ. 13) Н. С. Рымша. 14) А. Г. Гидерихсъ. 15) А. Н. Больдъ. 16) М. Д. Ширяевъ. 17) А. А. Сничевъ-Андреевъ. 18) М. Ф. Вернеръ. 19) А. М. Гей-Городецкій. 20) А. А. Рубцовъ.

2.16c

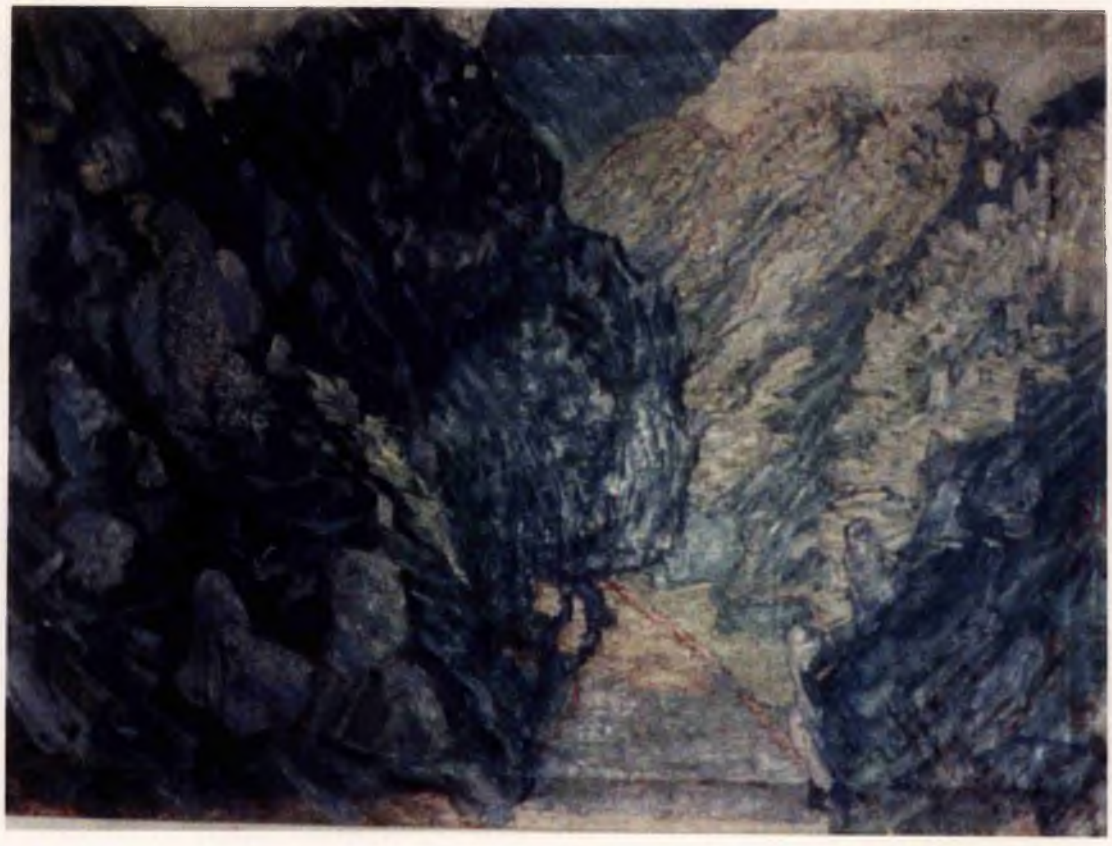


2.17 Kul'bin, Stylization of Banality. Illustration to Evreinov's "Performance of Love", The Studio of Impressionists. 1910.

2.18 Kul'bin, Night of Love, Illustration to Evreinov's "Performance of Love", The Studio of Impressionists, 1910.

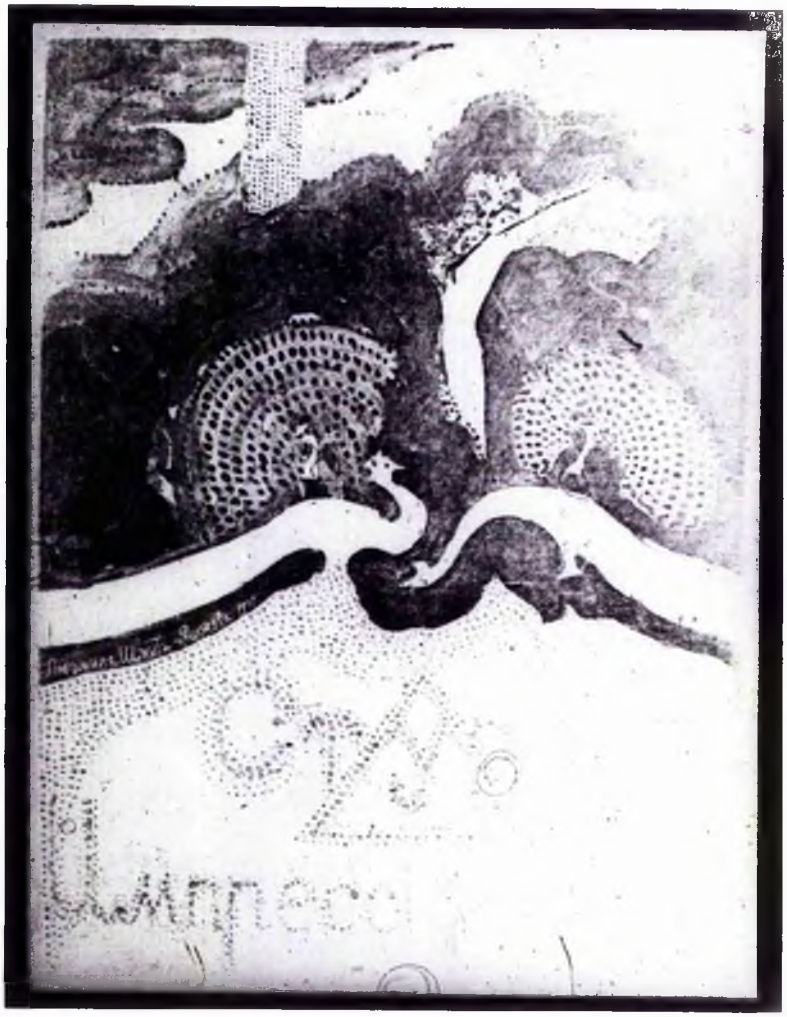


2.19 Kul'bin, Despair, Illustration to Evreinov's "Performance of Love", The Studio of Impressionists, 1910.



2.20 Kul'bin, Lilac, c.1910.

2.21 Shmit-Ryzhova, She-She, Illustration to Evreinov's "Performance of Love", The Studio of Impressionists, 1910.

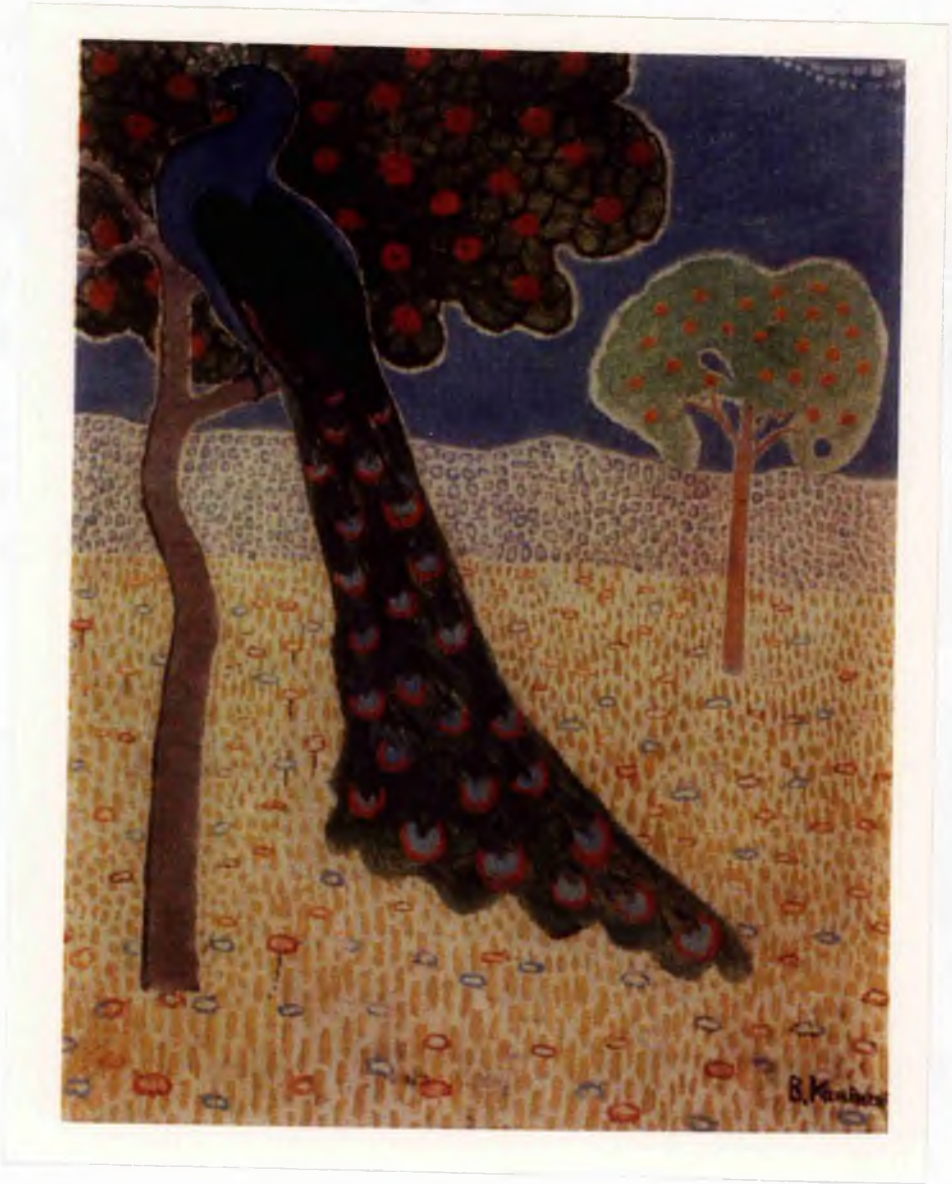


2.22 Shmit-Ryzhova, Cover to The Studio of Impressionists. 1910.

2.23 Shmit-Ryzhova, Illustration to
The Studio of Impressionists, 1910.

2.24 Guro, Woman in a Headscarf (Scandinavian Tsarevna), 1910.

2.25 Guro, Morning of the Giant, 1910.



2.26 Kamenskii, Peahen Khvostava (For Nursery Amusement), 1910.

3.1 Bystrenin, Self-Portrait, c.1910.

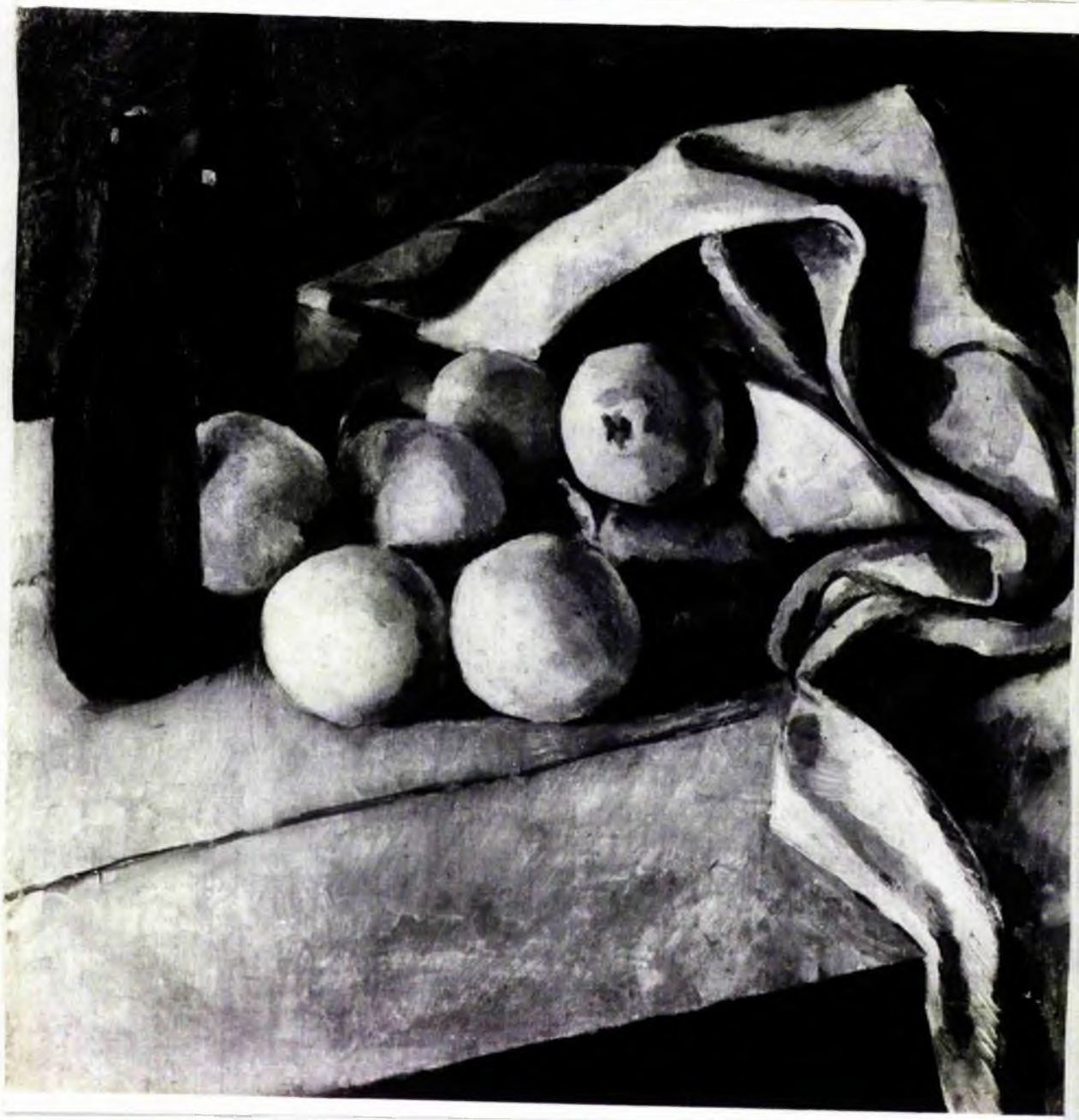
3.2 Gaush, Landscape with Poplars, 1911.

3.3 L'vov, Tobolsk, early 1910s.

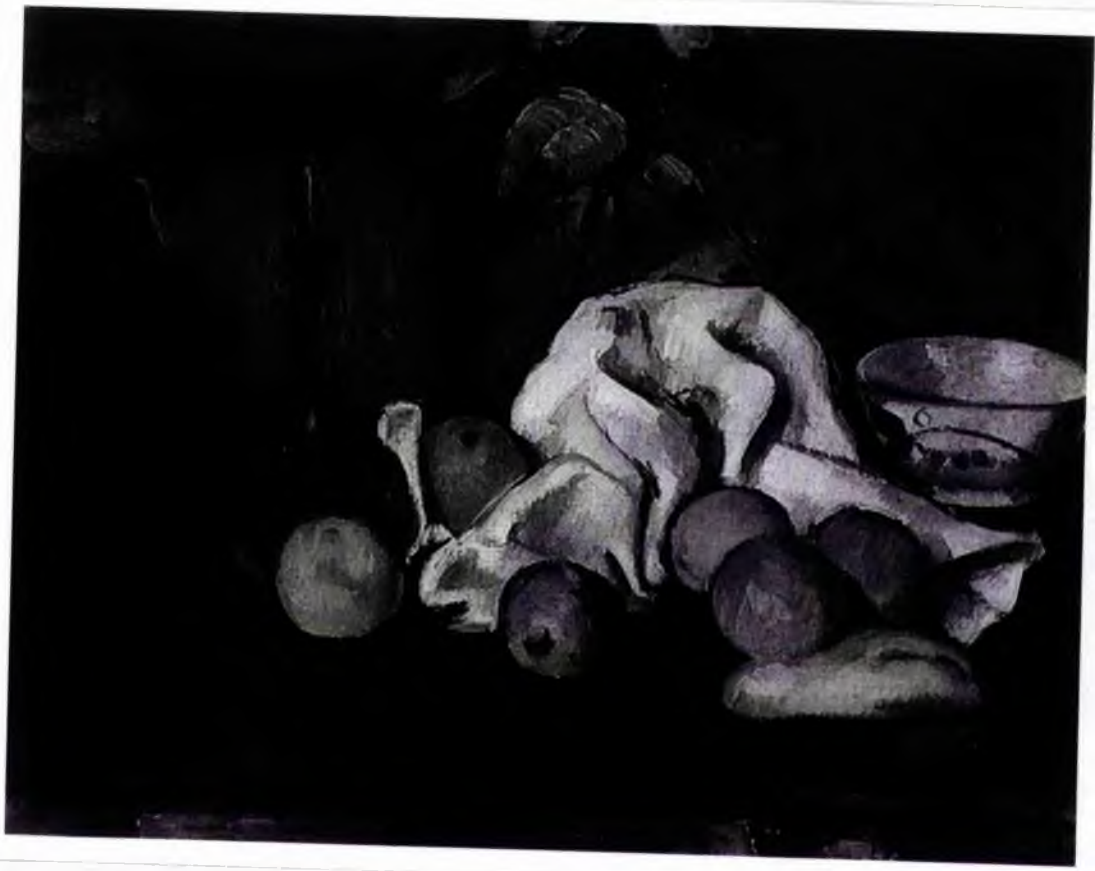
3.4 L'vov, Self-Portrait. early 1910s.

3.5 L'vov, Yard, early 1910s.

3.6 L'vov, Military Drummer, early 1910s.

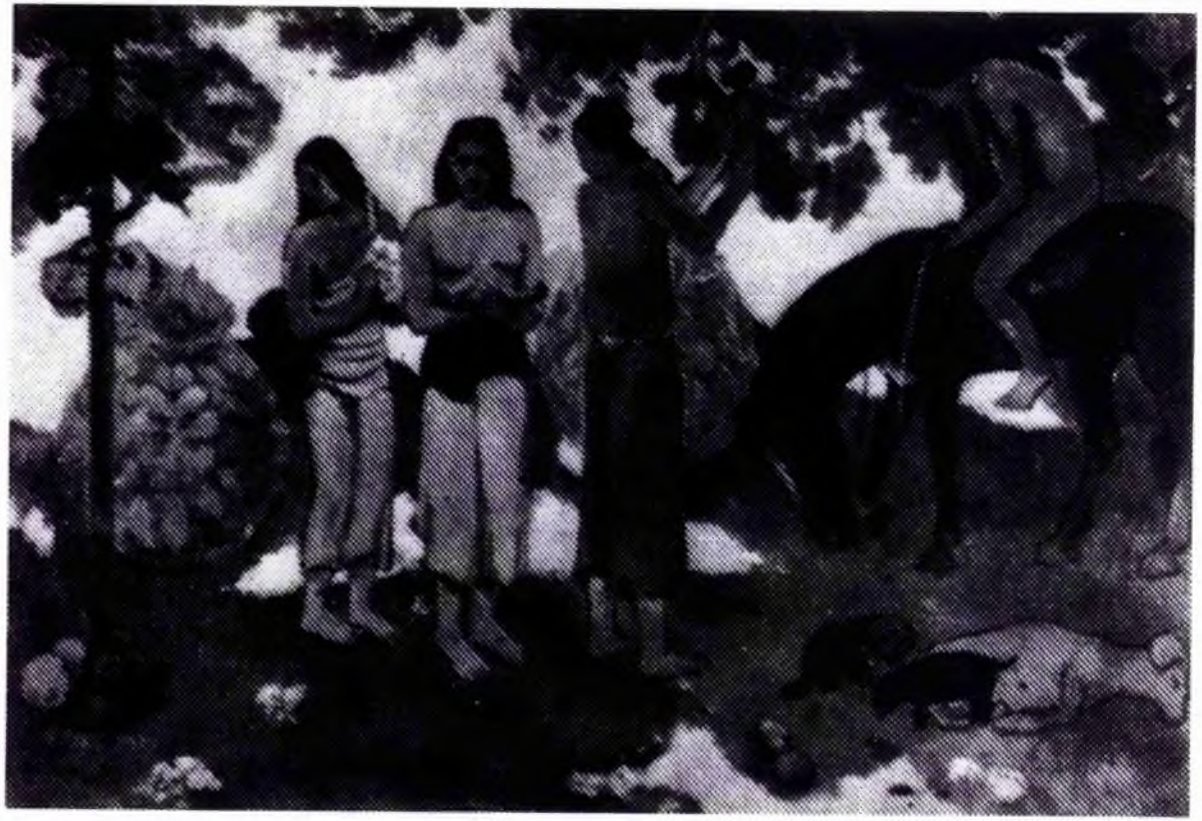


3.7 Nagubnikov, Still-Life with Oranges. c. 1910.



3.8 Cézanne, Fruit. 1880.

3.9 Goncharova, Planting Potatoes. c. 1909-1910.



3.10 Gauguin, Picking Fruit, 1899.

3.11 Larionov, Soldier at the Hairdresser, 1909.

3.12 Naumov, Girl with Pheasants, 1914.

3.13 Petrov-Vodkin, Portrait of Artist's Wife, 1907.

3.14 Petrov-Vodkin, The Shore, 1908.

3.15 Petrov-Vodkin, The Dream, 1910.

3.16 Raphael, The Knight's Dream, 1505.

3.17 Hodler, The Chosen One, 1894.

3.18 Larionov, Walk in a Provincial Town, 1907.

3.19 Markov (Matvejs) c.1910.

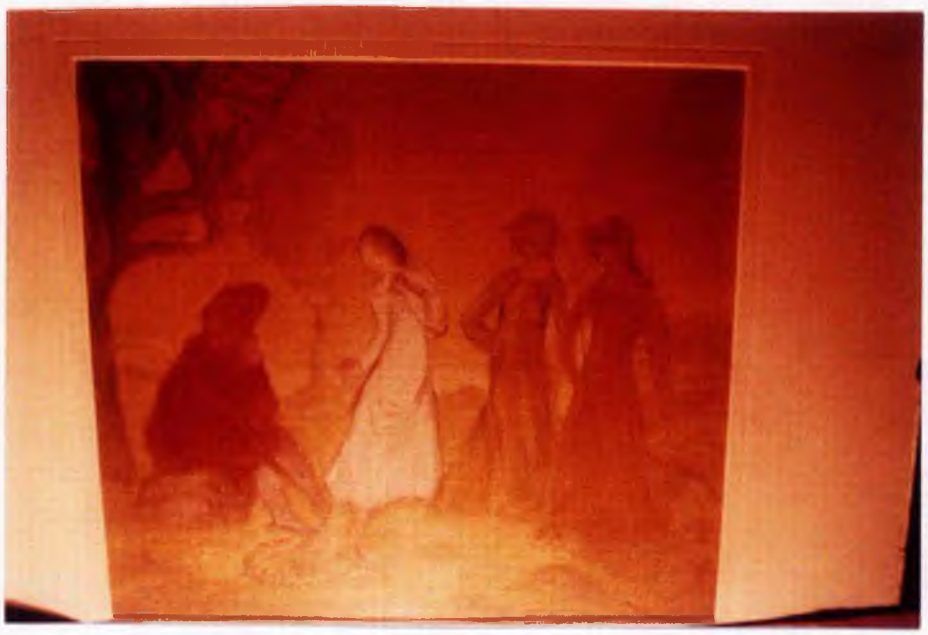
3.20 Markov, Seven Princesses, c.1908-1910.

3.21 Markov, Bernovo, c. 1910.

3.22 Markov, Study (City Square), c.1910-1912.

3.23 Marquet, Ciboure, 1907.

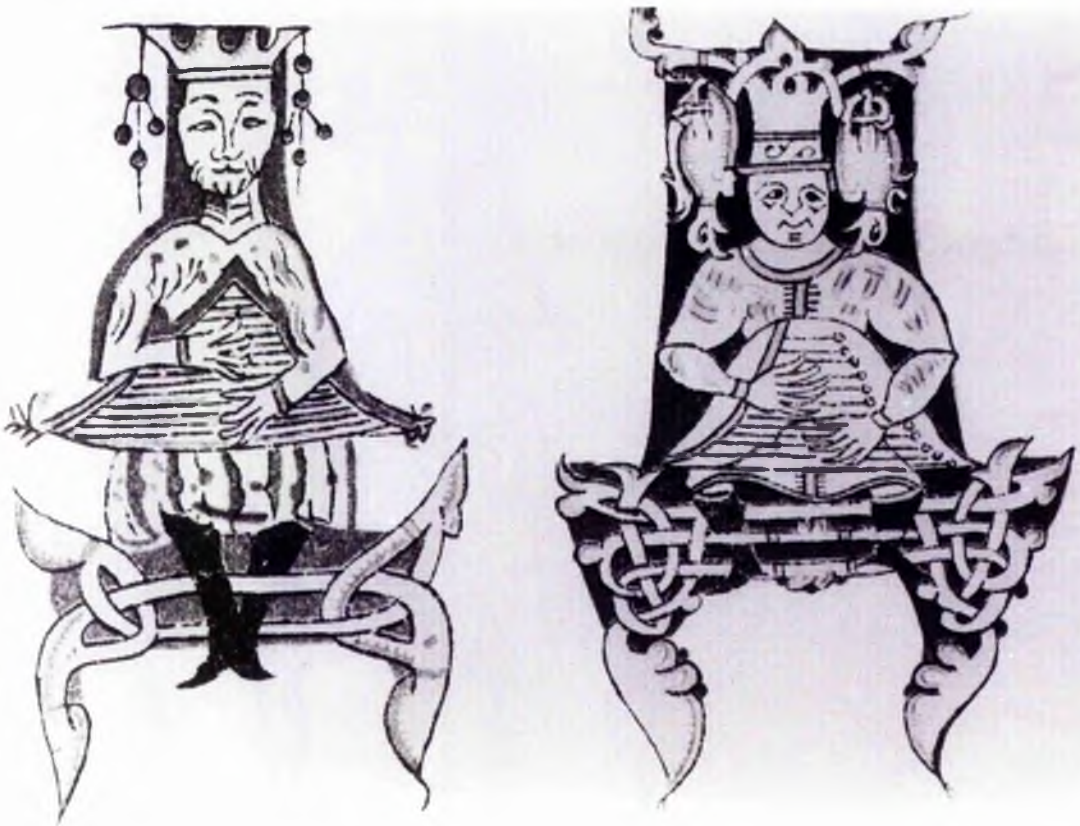
3.24 Markov, Study (Two Women and an Infant), c.1910.



3.25 Markov, Four Figures, c.1909-1910.

3.26 Markov, Study (Man with a Horse), c.1910.

4.1 Inside Cover for The Studio of Impressionists. 1910.



4.2 Fourteenth Century Novgorodian Psalter Initials.

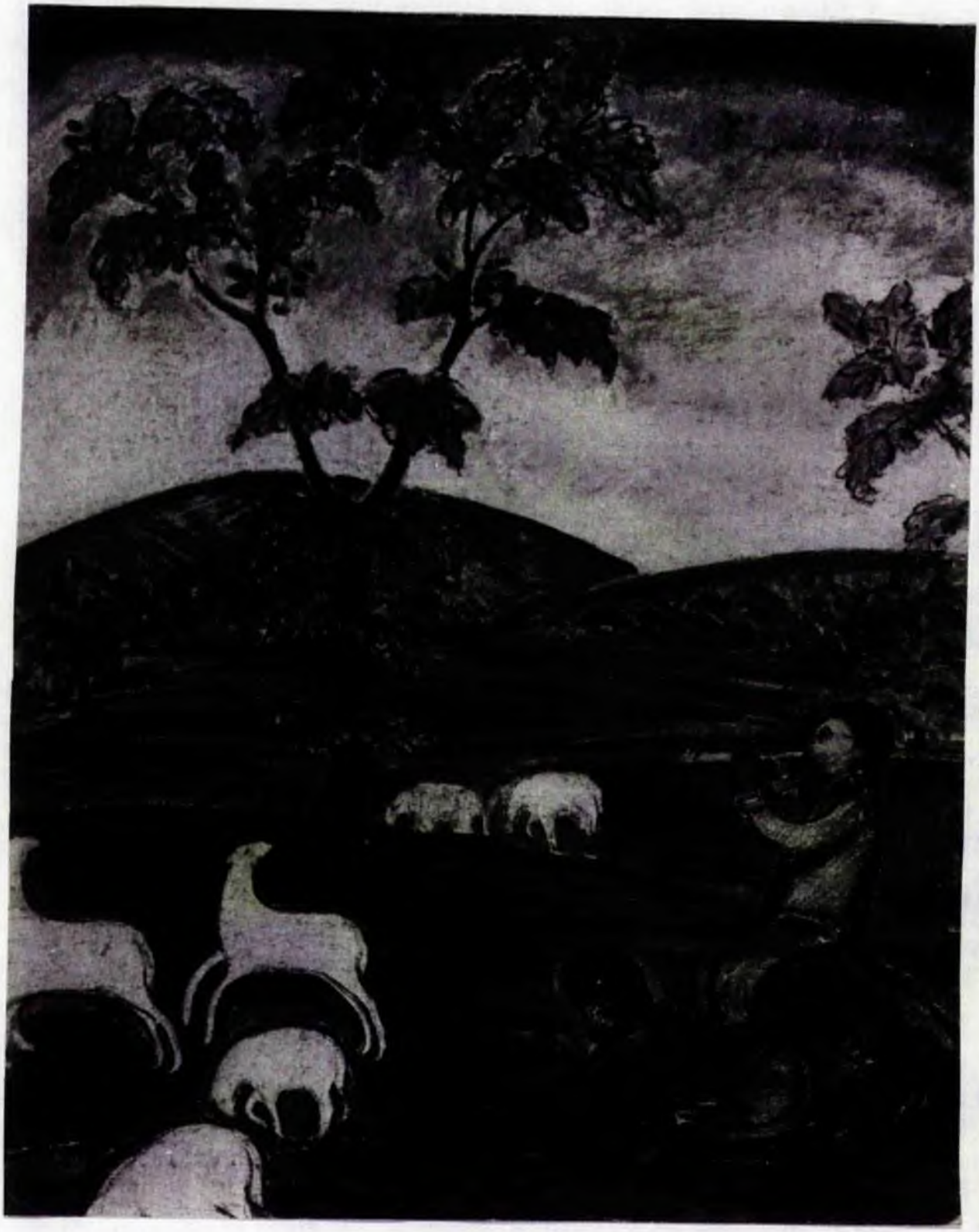
4.3 "Khoromnyya Deistva", 27 January 1911.

4.4 Anika the Warrior and Death, 17th Century lubok.

4.5 Poster for the Union of Youth's 1911 Exhibition.

4.6 Exhibits at the Union of Youth's 1911 Exhibition.

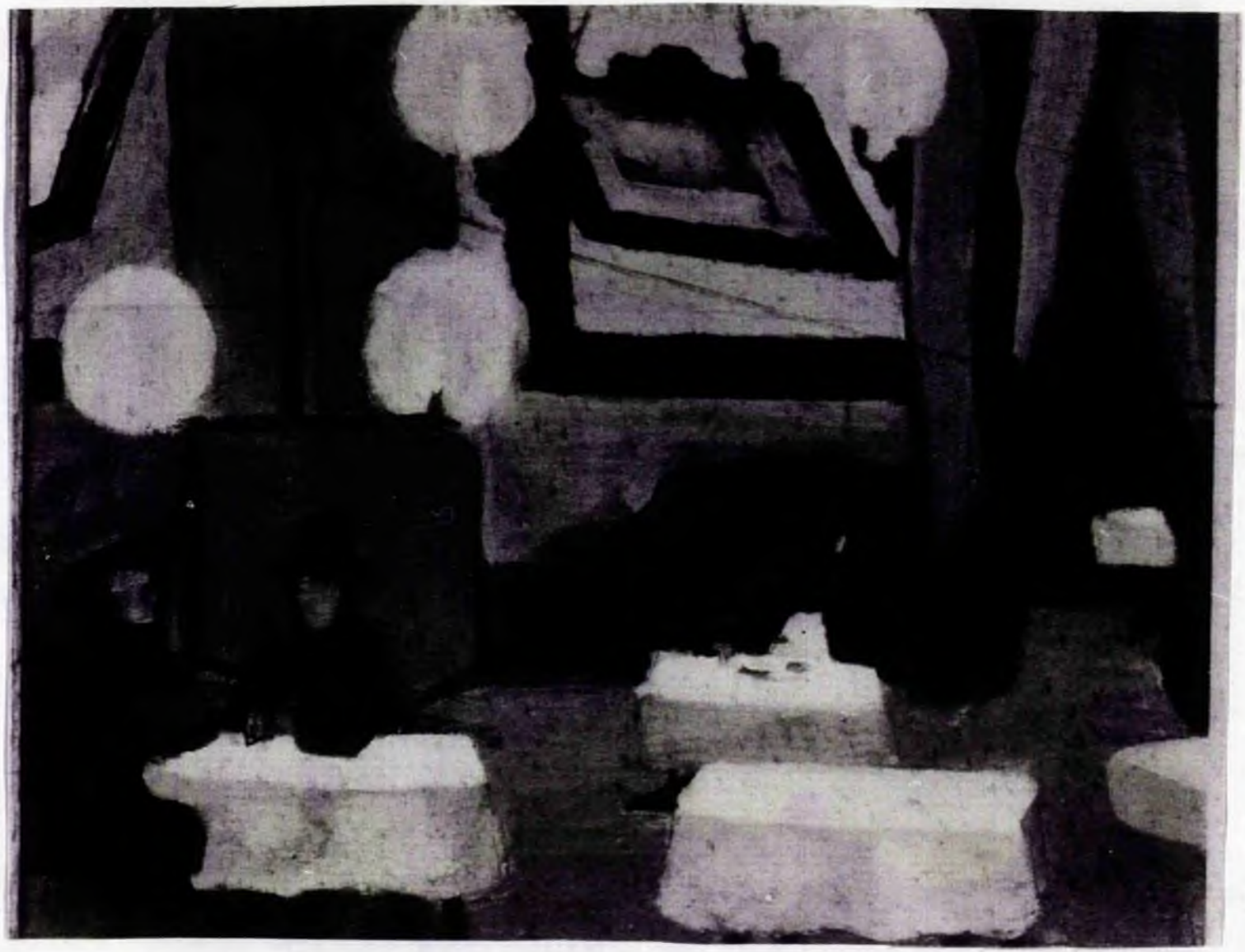
4.7 Spandikov, Self-Portrait. c.1910.



4.8 Shleifer, Shepherd Boy, c. 1911.

4.9 Giotto, St. Francis Preaching to the Birds. 1297-1300.

4.10 Belkin, Fruit against a Blue Background, c.1911.

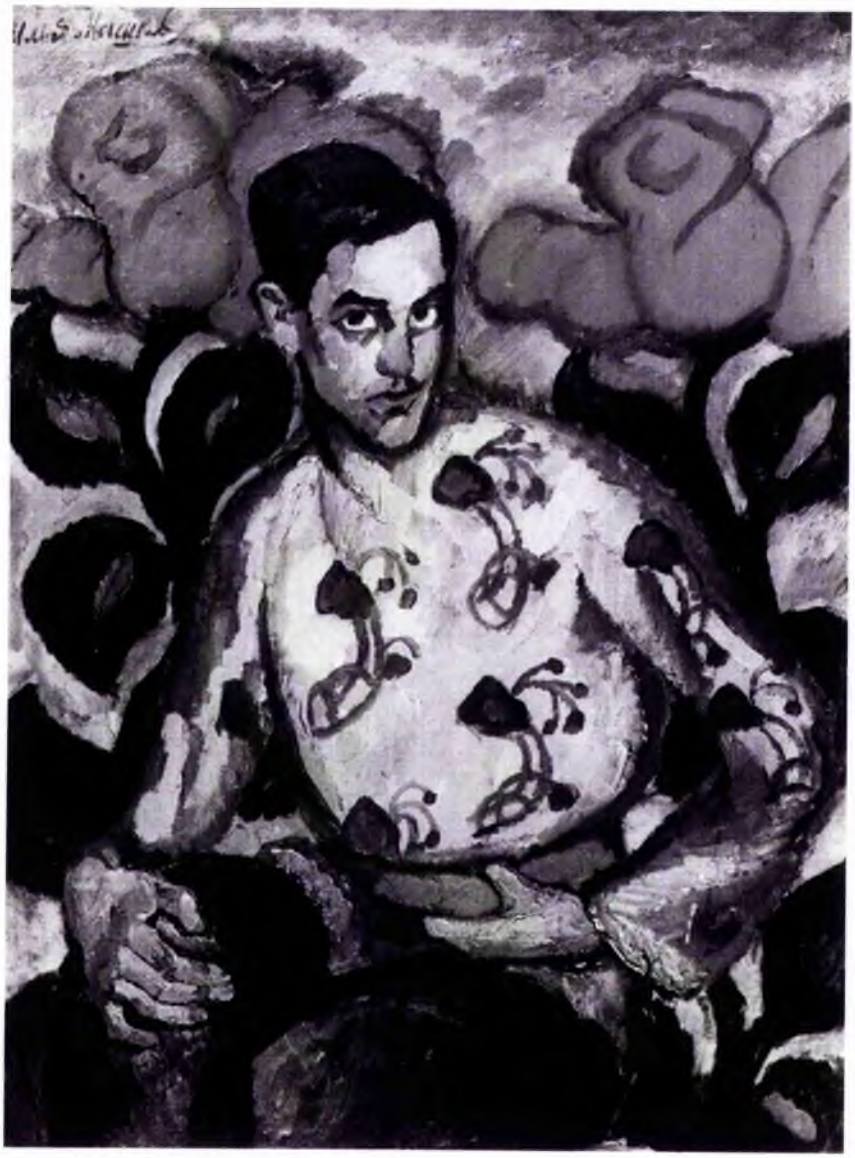


4.11 Rozanova, The Restaurant, c.1911.

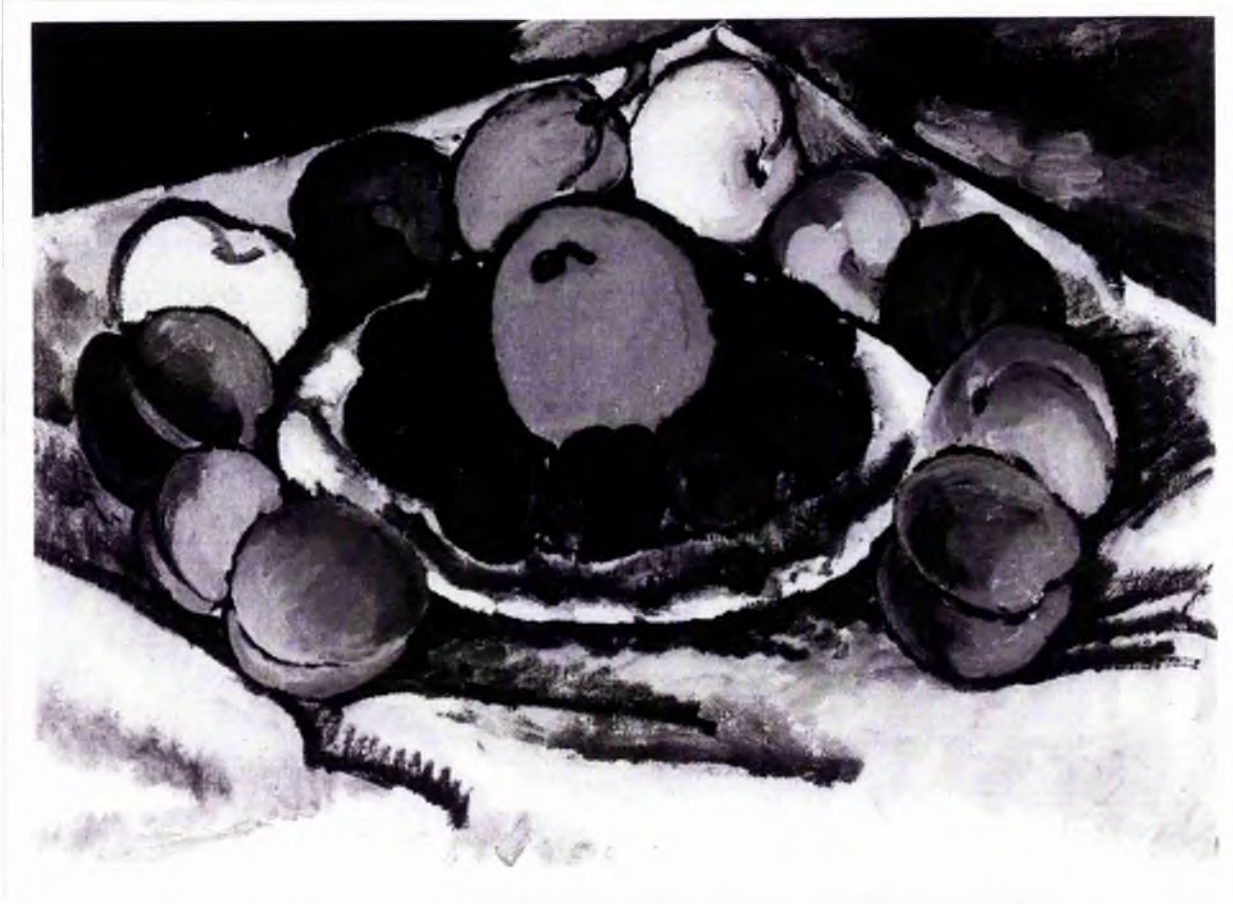
4.12 Filonov, Heads, 1910.

4.13 Konchalovskii, The Matador Manuel Garta, 1910.

4.14 Matisse, The Green Stripe, 1905.



4.15 Mashkov, Portrait of a Young Man in an Embroidered Shirt, 1909.



4.16 Mashkov, Still-Life with Plums, 1910.

4.17 D. Burlyuk, Horses. c. 1910-1911.

4.18 V. Burlyuk, Landscape, 1912.

4.19 V. Burlyuk, Landscape. 1911.

4.20 V. Burlyuk, Portrait of Guro. 1910.

4.21 V. Burlyuk, Portrait of Khlebnikov, c.1911-1913.

4.22 Morgunov, Portrait of Goncharova and Larionov (?), c.1911.

4.23 Malevich, Chiropodist at the Baths, 1910.

4.24 Malevich, Seed-Beds (Carrying Earth), 1911.

4.25 Larionov, Self-Portrait, c.1910.

4.26 Larionov, Bread, c.1909.

4.27 Goncharova, In Church, c. 1910.

4.28 Goncharova, The Woodcutter, c. 1910.

4.29 Tatlin, Naval Uniforms, c.1910.

4.30 Tatlin, Self-Portrait, c.1910.

къ уху: «остановились». Порывисто открылъ форточку и выбросилъ ихъ. «Я схожу съ ума!»—провелъ Антоша по головѣ рукой. Крахмаленный воротничекъ, застегнутый лапонкой и перевязанный синимъ съ бѣлыми горошинами галстукомъ, былъ кинутъ на туалетъ. «Это было въ послѣдній день... Она сказала: «Будетъ, будетъ жить моя звѣзда!»—и тутъ же быстро сняла галстукъ и воротникъ, застегнула его и, вотъ такъ перекинувъ, бросила на туалетъ...» На столѣ лежало что-то свернутое въ бѣломъ батистѣ и заколотое иголкой съ ниткой, а рядомъ съ этимъ—папиросникъ и очки. Какъ нравилась она Антошѣ въ очкахъ, столько дѣтскаго, шаловливаго выраженья прибавили они ея лицу... И надѣвала она ихъ какъ-то забавно, неумѣло, будто проказничая!.. Антоша развернулъ то, что было заколото въ бѣломъ батистѣ,—это не оконченное голубое платьице... Надежда шила его сама. Лучше къ елкѣ... А вотъ на кусточкѣ носовой платокъ.—«fleur d'alize»... Онъ крѣпко закрылъ глаза руками. «Будто мелькнули пышные, бѣлокурые волосы Надежи. Вотъ такъ всегда пахло»... Томикъ Альтенберга. Антоша взялъ его, раскрылъ на томъ мѣстѣ, гдѣ былъ вложенъ маленькій перламутровый ножикъ. «Ему не вѣрилось, что она питаетъ къ нему искреннюю душевную привязанность... Просто по собственному желанію она создала себѣ изъ него идеалъ.—Тебя я никогда не любила. Но видишь-ли, была въ тебѣ частица того, что соотвѣтствовало моимъ собственнымъ, никогда несуществимымъ идеаламъ... Быть можетъ, она заключалась въ твоихъ невыразимо прекрасныхъ рукахъ» (Антоша покраснѣлъ: онъ вспомнилъ, какъ Надежа всегда восхищалась его руками и капризно спрашивала мужа: «Но отчего у тебя не такія, какъ у Антоши?» Онъ читалъ дальше) «или быть можетъ въ твоей стройной походкѣ» (Антоша глубоко вдохнулъ), «или въ глазахъ, полныхъ одновременно доброты и тонкаго ума... Я никогда не любила тебя, но въ чемъ-то необъяснимомъ ты давалъ мнѣ частицу того идеала, котораго нѣтъ и не будетъ. Не къ тебѣ относятся эти стихи, а къ»... (Антоша повернулъ страницу и обомлѣлъ: на поляхъ, вдоль книжки, въ концѣ разсказика красивымъ острымъ почеркомъ Надежи было написано: «Антоша». Онъ поцѣловалъ написанное и дальше) «идеалу, созданному мною, одинъ томъ котораго я взяла у тебя, единственный, но все же взяла... Частицей несуществимаго будь ты для меня».

Мелькало: «Антоша — воръ, Антоша украдъ!»—нелѣпица, которую могъ внушить только кто-нибудь во снѣ или сказать бредя. Но тѣмъ не менѣе вышло же такъ... самомъ дѣлѣ, и Антоша ясно это сознавалъ. Да, онъ украдъ! Укралъ томикъ Альтенберга, вынулъ ножикъ, положилъ его на столъ, а томикъ спряталъ въ боковой карманъ и клялся, что никому не отдастъ его, никогда не скажетъ, что онъ взялъ его! «Сантиментально!»,—но онъ отбросилъ эту мысль, какъ совсѣмъ неважное, пустое... Всѣмъ хотѣлось, что залѣзала ему Надежа. Громадное трудное счастье обняло Антошу. «Я сдѣлаю Надежа, все, что ты просила, если мнѣ

Выставка картинъ общества художниковъ „Союзъ молодежи", въ СПБ.

Со снимковъ для журнала «Огонекъ»

Выставка «Союза молодежи», помѣстившаяся въ домѣ академіи художествъ, рядомъ съ музеемъ императора Александра III, тѣсновата и «петербуржиста», объединила самые разнородные элементы. Единственнымъ связующимъ звеномъ между экспонентами является возрастъ. Наиболѣе интереснымъ изъ всѣхъ иностранныхъ художниковъ I. H. Филоновымъ, давшимъ въ сожалѣніе не полную [illegible] множествомъ фигуръ, часть которыхъ напоминаетъ манеръ старинныхъ итальянцевъ, выступили со своими этюдами и графикой академисты П. В. Львовъ и С. Нагубниковъ. Работы ихъ, въ особенности перваго, отличаются академическою правильностью и производятъ такое же впечатлѣніе, какъ большинство этюдовъ на отчетной академической выставкѣ, размѣщаемыхъ по залу [illegible] «пиркулю». Внимательное отношеніе къ натурѣ и своему труду обнаружилъ молодой художникъ А. В. Шевченко. Въ обычной манерѣ работаетъ интересно компанующій г-жа Новодворская и [illegible] совсѣмъ юная дебютантка А. М. [illegible]ва. Въ ея рабочемъ искали формъ и колорита [illegible] природныя дарованія. И [illegible] вырабатываетъ мотивы [illegible] исторіи [illegible] его

С. П. Бобровъ.—«Циклопъ».

особенности московскіе участники «сознаютъ хвоста», предаются почти исключительно разработкѣ новаго въ Россіи, но уже давно привившагося за границей «плакатнаго и вывѣсочнаго» искусства. Какъ примѣненіе художества къ промышленности оно имѣетъ, конечно, право существовать и можетъ приносить свою пользу. Воспроизводимый нами, напримѣръ, «Циклопъ» могъ бы послужить отличнымъ плакатомъ для бульона или мясного экстракта. Еще лучше—два обнаженныхъ атлета, которые такъ и просятся на заборъ для объявленія о французской борьбѣ. Къ сожалѣнію, наши молодые плакатисты проявляютъ мало стремленія къ изысканію сколько-нибудь новыхъ пріемовъ. Они повторяютъ иностранцевъ и самихъ себя, хотя въ области плаката допустимо и законно всякое дерзновеніе. Отъ самыхъ яркихъ и азіятскихъ плакатовъ вѣетъ дряблостью и скукой.

А. М. Зельмакова. «Marguerite».

Новодворская.—«Жоръ плодовъ».

5.2 Potipaka, Earth, c.1911.

5.3 Matisse, Marguerite, c. 1908.

5.4 Rozanova, On the Boulevard, c.1911-1912.

5.5 Rozanova, Still-Life with Furled Drawings, 1911.

5.6 Filonov, Sketch, c. 1911.

5.7 Mashkov, Self-Portrait with Konchalovskii, 1910.

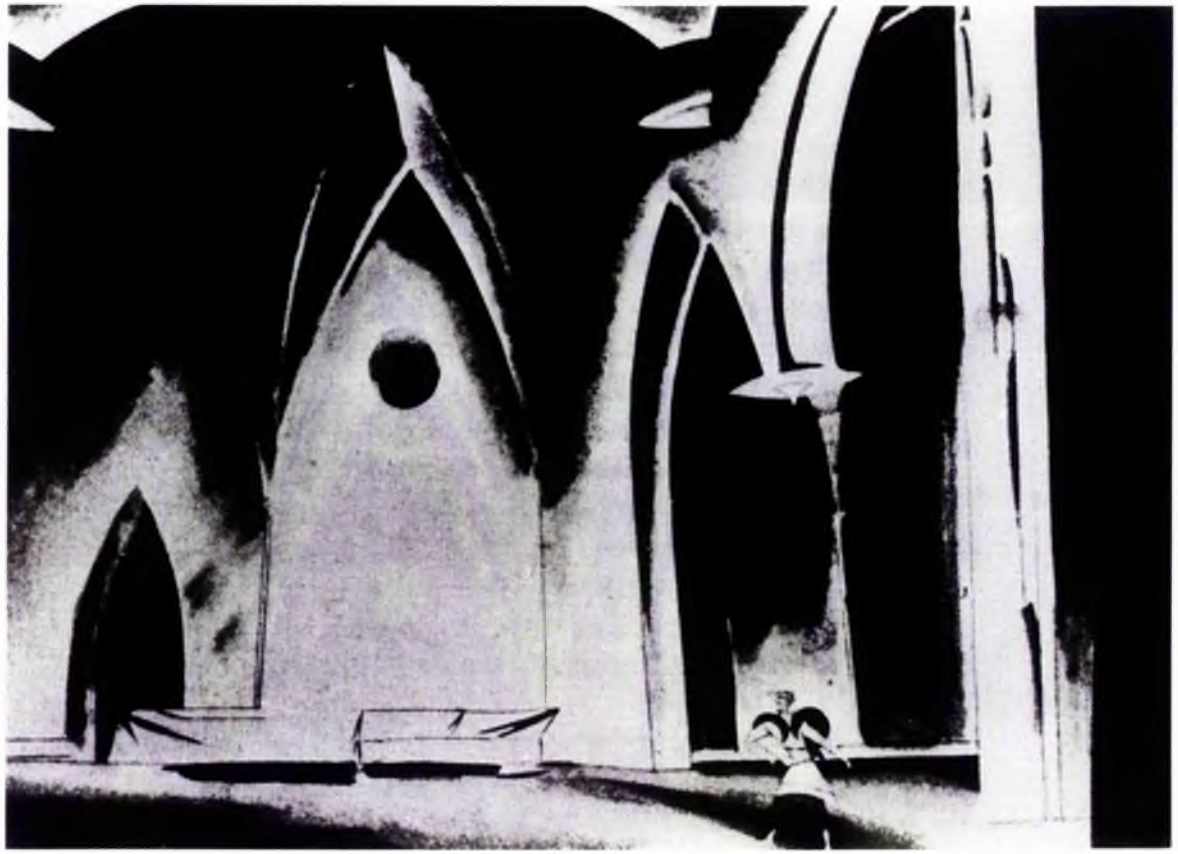
5.8 Goncharova, Fishing, c.1910.

5.9 Goncharova, Larionov with his Platoon Leader, c.1911.

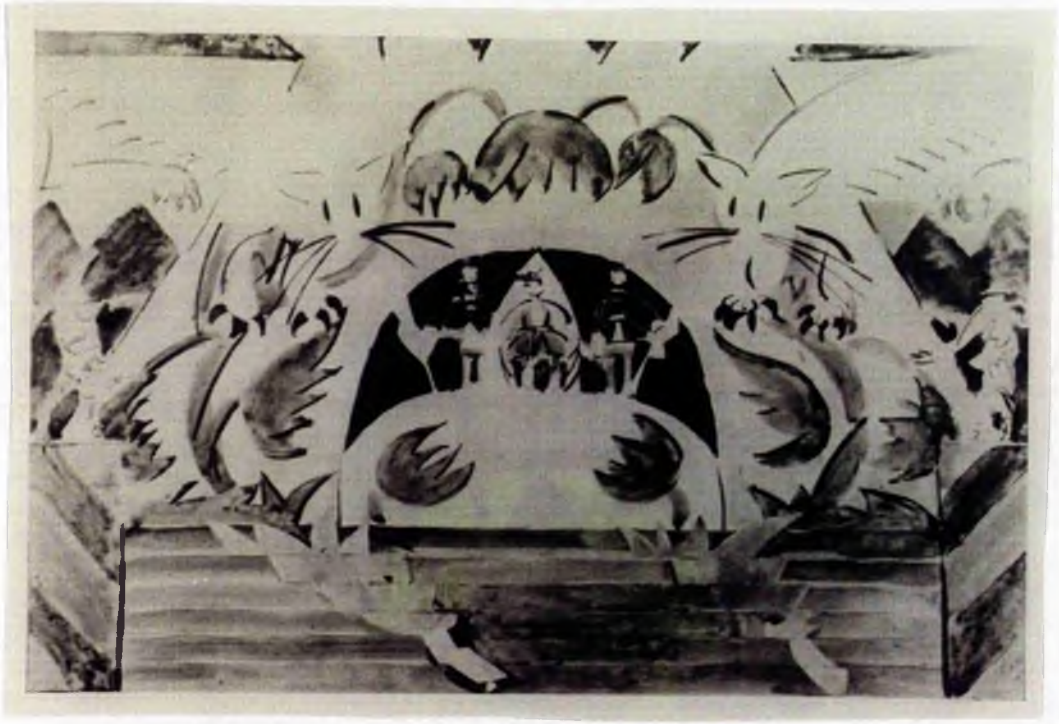
5.10 Goncharova, Reapers, c.1911.

5.11 Larionov, Head of a Sailor, c.1912.

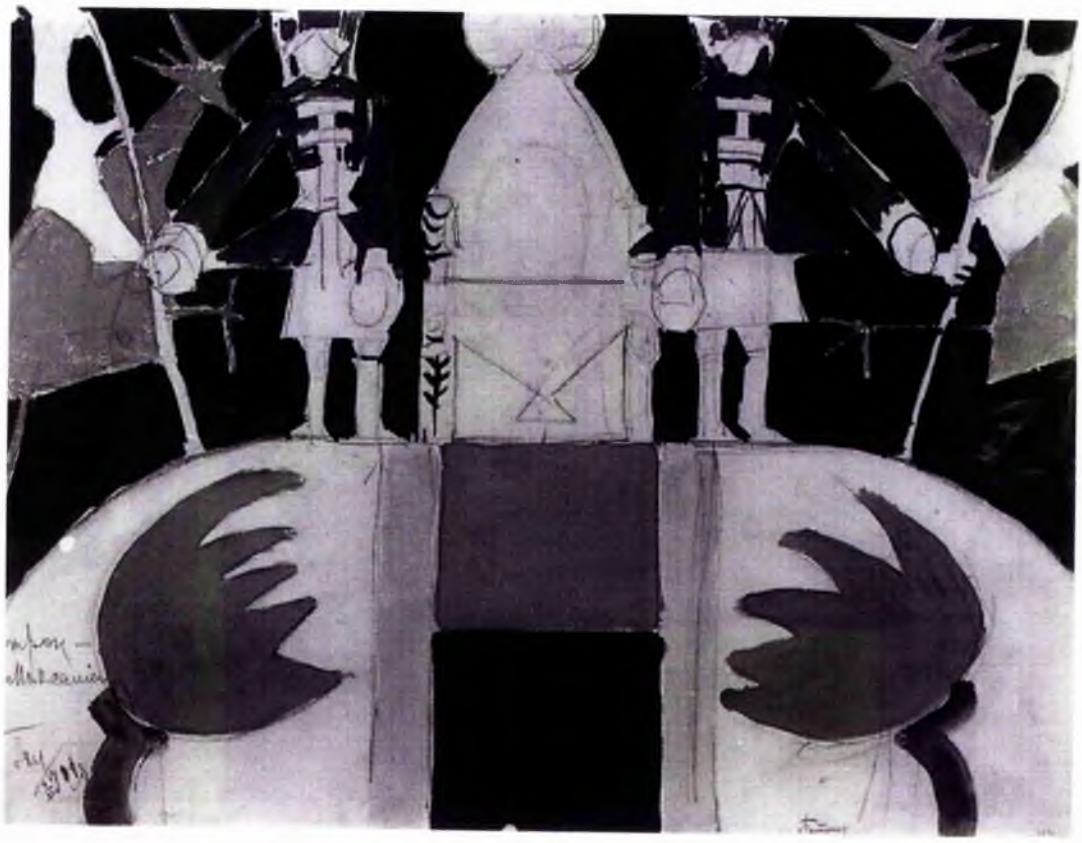
5.12 Tatlin, Fishmonger, 1911.



5.13 Tatlin, Hall in the Castle, 1911.



5.14 Tatlin, Stage Design for Tsar Maksem'van, 1911.



5.15 Tatlin, Tsar Maksem'yan's Throne, 1911.

5.16 Tatlin, Skorokhod-Marshal, 1911.

5.17 Tatlin, Venus the Beauty, 1911.

5.18 Malevich, On the Boulevard, 1911.

5.19 Malevich, Argentinian Polka, 1911.

5.20 "Argentinian Polka" Photograph in Ogonek, 1911.

5.21 Shkol'nik, Winter, c.1911-1912.

5.22 Malevich, Man with a Sack, 1911.

5.23 Malevich, Floor Polishers, 1911.

5.24 Malevich, Sketch (Harvest), c.1912.

5.25 Malevich, Peasant Women in Church, c. 1912.

5.26 Goncharova, Peacock in Bright Sunshine, c.1912.

5.27 Goncharova, White Peacock, c.1912.

5.28 Goncharova, Harvest, c.1912.

5.29 Cover for The Union of Youth, No.2, 1912.

5.30 Kannon, Seventh Century Japanese Sculpture.

6.1 Mostova, Roofs. St. Petersburg, 1912.

6.2 Shkol'nik, Still-Life with Vases, c.1912.

6.3 Rozanova, The Red House, c.1912.

6.4 Rozanova, The Smithy, c.1912.

Выставка „Союза молодежи“ („Кубистовъ“) въ Петербургѣ.

К. С. Малевичъ. — Портретъ Ивана Васильевича Клюнкова.

К. С. Малевичъ. — Въ полѣ.

К. С. Малевичъ. — [illegible]

Э. К. Спандиковъ. — „Дама съ гитарой“.

С. Д. Розанова. — Портретъ А. В. Розановой.

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Издатель С. М. Проппперъ.

6.5

6.6 Rozanova, Seated Lady, 1912.

6.7 Matyushin, Dancer, c.1912-1918.

6.8 D. Burlyuk, Landscape from Four Points of View, c.1912.

6.9 V. Burlyuk, Portrait of Livshits, 1912.

6.10 V. Burlyuk, Heliotropism, c. 1911-1912.

6.11 Tatlin, Sailor, c. 1912.

6.12 Malevich, Taking in the Rye, 1912.

6.13 Malevich, The Woodcutter, 1912.

6.14 Goncharova, The Wine Drinkers, c.1912.

6.15 Goncharova, The City at Night, 1912.

6.16 Larionov, Spring, 1912.

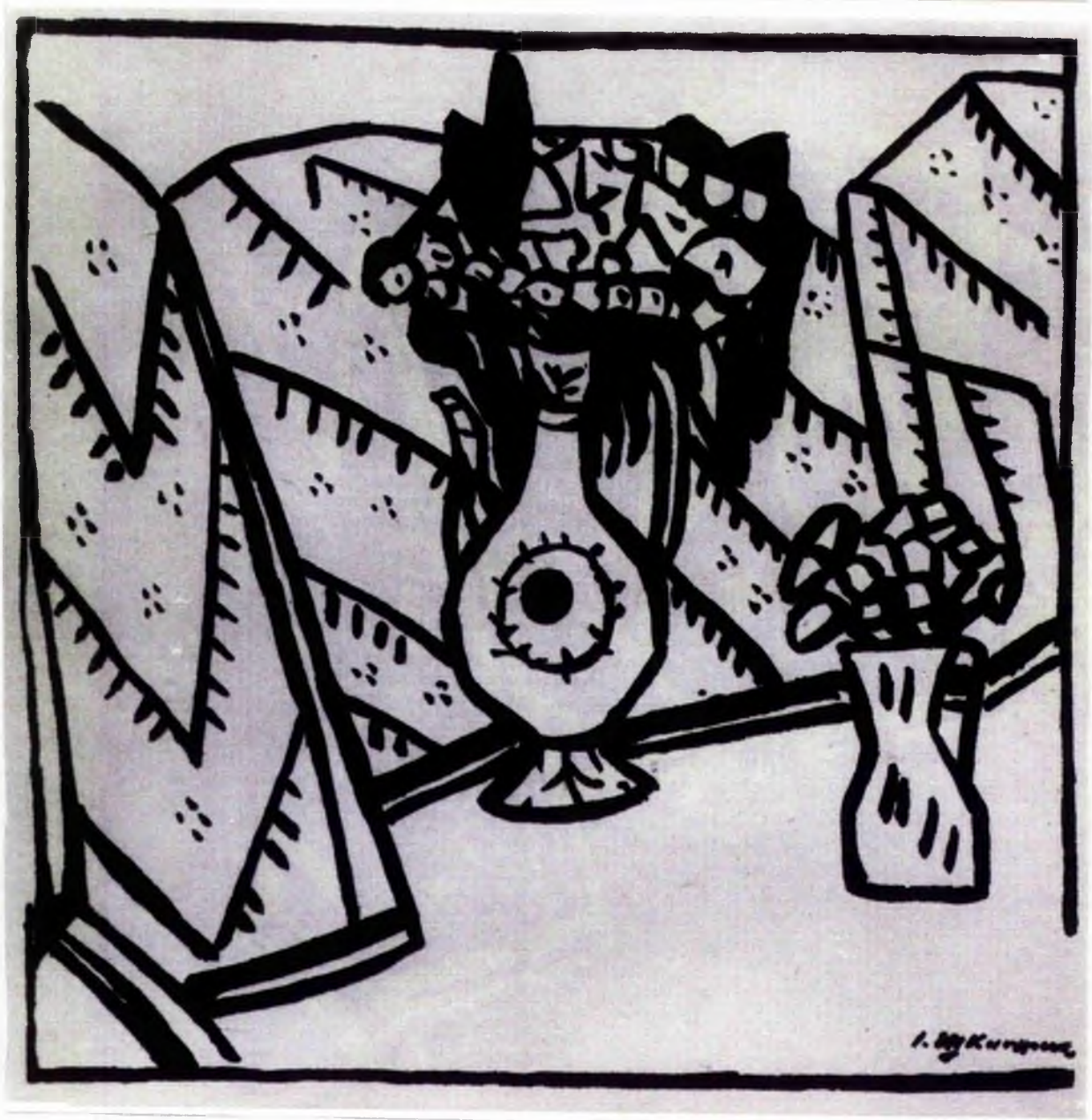
6.17 Larionov, Blue Rayism (Portrait of a Fool), 1912.

6.18 Larionov, Rayist Sausage and Mackerel, 1912.

7.1 Poster for the Union of Youth Debates, 23 and 24 March 1913.

7.2 Shkol'nik, Wash-House Bridge, Petersburg, 1913.

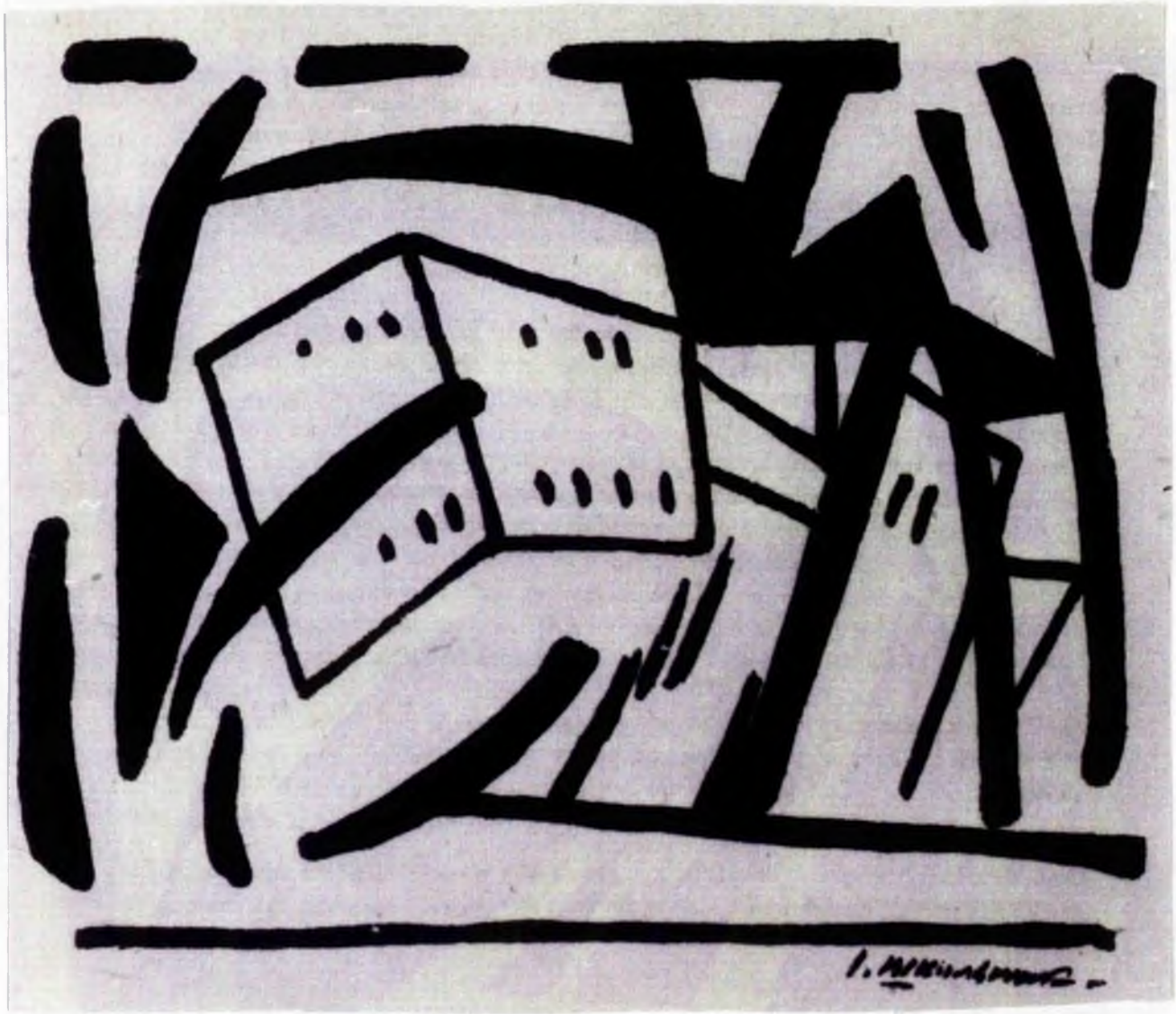
7.3 Shkol'nik, Cover for The Union of Youth, No.3, 1913.



7.4 Shkol'nik, Two Vases, 1913.

7.5 Shkol'nik, Two Boats, 1913.

7.6 Shkol'nik, Landscape, 1913.



7.7 Shkol'nik, Abstract Composition, 1913.

7.8 Rozanova, Townscape, 1913.

7.9 Boccioni, The Street enters the House, 1912.

7.10 Larionov, Illustration in Antique Love, 1912.

7.11 Rozanova, Landscape, 1913.

7.12 Rozanova, "Landscape", 1913.

7.13 Rozanova, Abstract Composition, 1913.

7.14 Carrà, Rhythm of Lines, 1912.

8.1 Guro, Sketch, c.1908-1913.

8.2 Guro, Sketch, c.1908-1913.

8.3 Guro, Two Pines, c.1912.

8.4 Guro, Little Window, c. 1908-1910.

8.5 Guro, Pines, 1912.

8.6 Malevich, Morning in the Village after the Snowstorm, c.1912-1913.

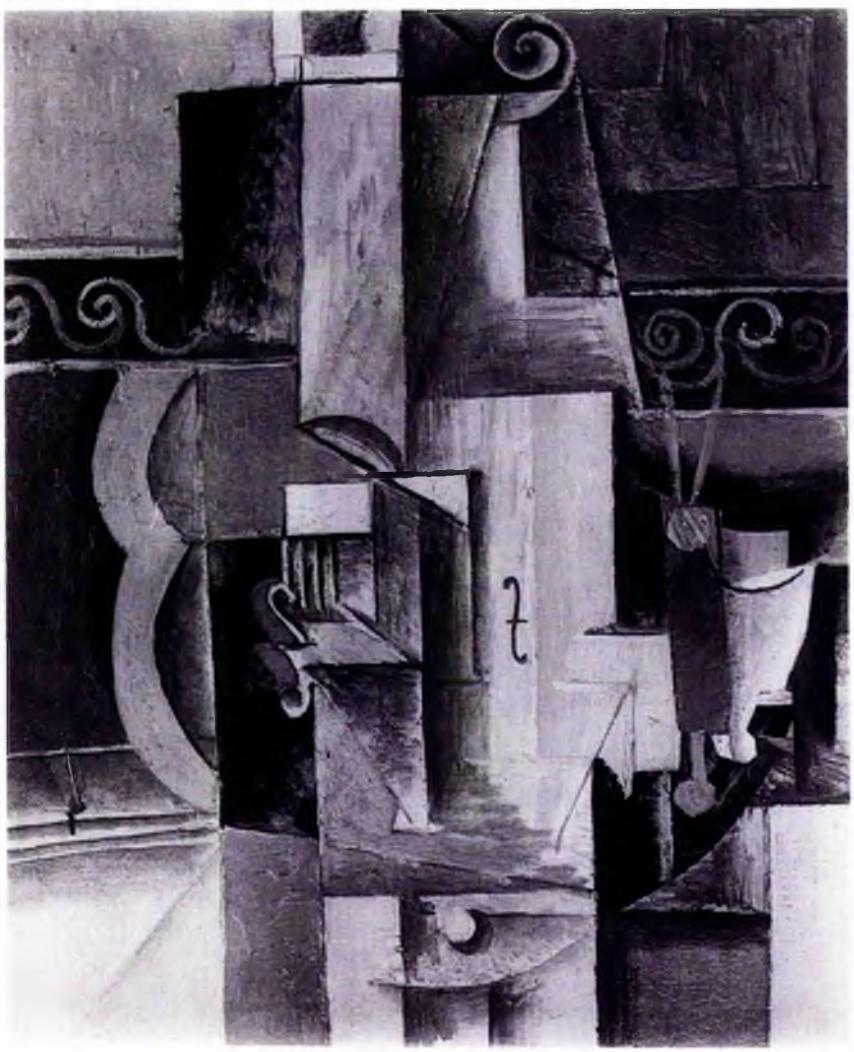
8.7 Malevich, The Knife Grinder, c.1912-1913.

8.8 Malevich, Completed Portrait of Ivan Klyun, c.1912-1913.

8.9 Malevich, Head of a Peasant Girl, c.1912-1913.

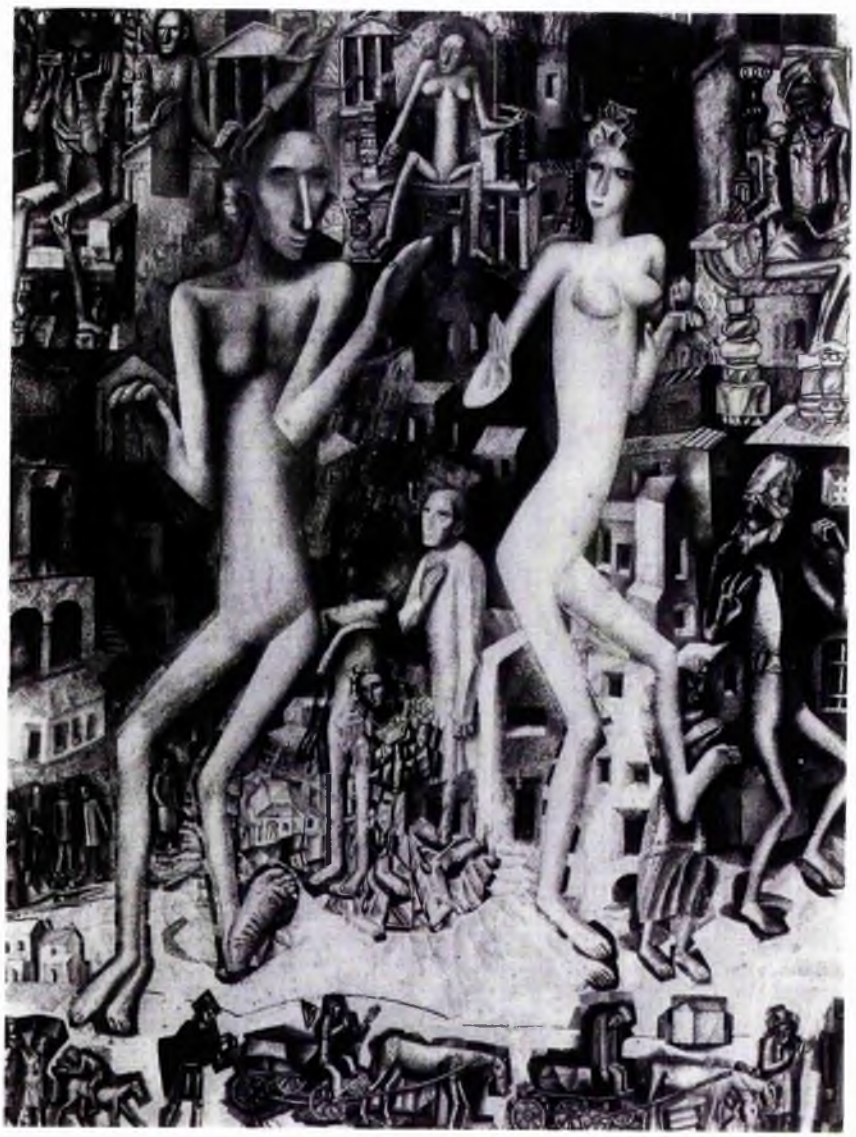
8.10 Malevich, Samovar. c. 1913.

8.11 Malevich, Musical Instrument/Lamp, c.1913-1914.



8.12 Picasso, Violin and Guitar, 1913.

8.13 Filonov, Feast of Kings, c.1913.



8.14 Filonov, Man and Woman, c.1913.

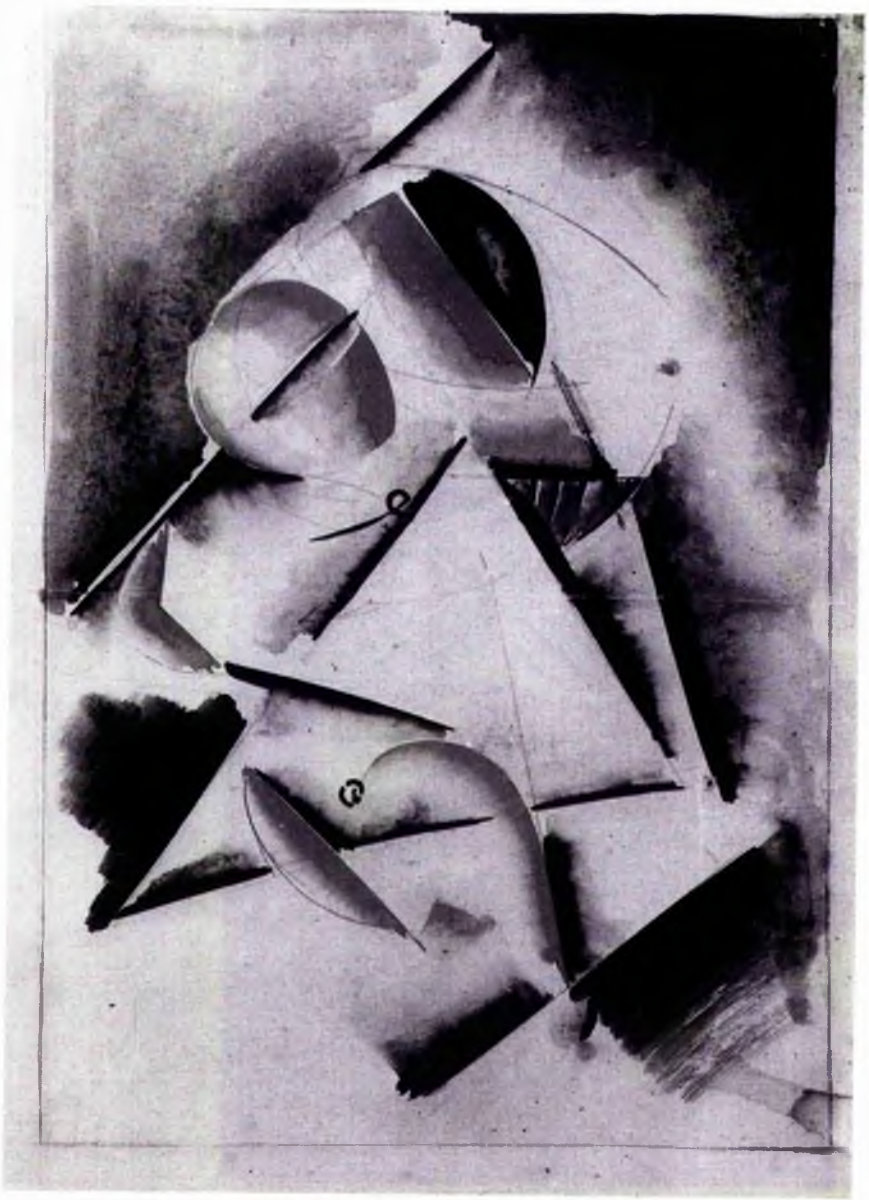
8.15 Rozanova, Construction of a House, 1913.

8.16 Rozanova, Port. c. 1913.

8.17 Rozanova, Man in the Street, c. 1913.

8.18 Carra, Plastic Transcendencies, 1912.

8.19 Rozanova, Dissonance (Directional Lines), 1913.

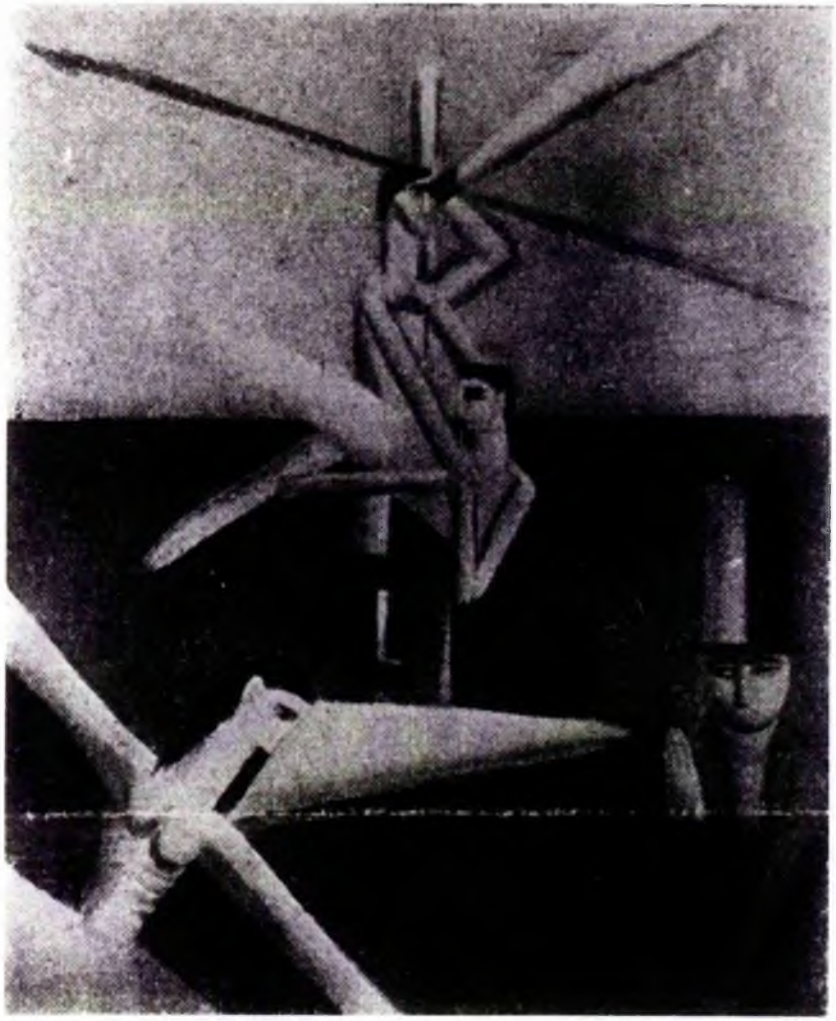


8.20 Tatlin, Composition Analysis. 1913.

8.21 Feofan Grek, Madonna and Child, 14th Century.

8.22 D. Burlyuk, Conductor of the Moscow Bolshoi Orchestra (Opera "Lakme"), c.1913.

8.23 Romanovich, The Military Orchestra, c.1913-1914.



8.24 Sinyakova, Untitled, c.1913.

8.25 Klyun, Jug, c.1913.

8.26 Morgunov, The Aviator's Study, 1913.

8.27 Ekster, Genoa, c. 1913.

8.28 Delaunay, City of Paris, 1912.

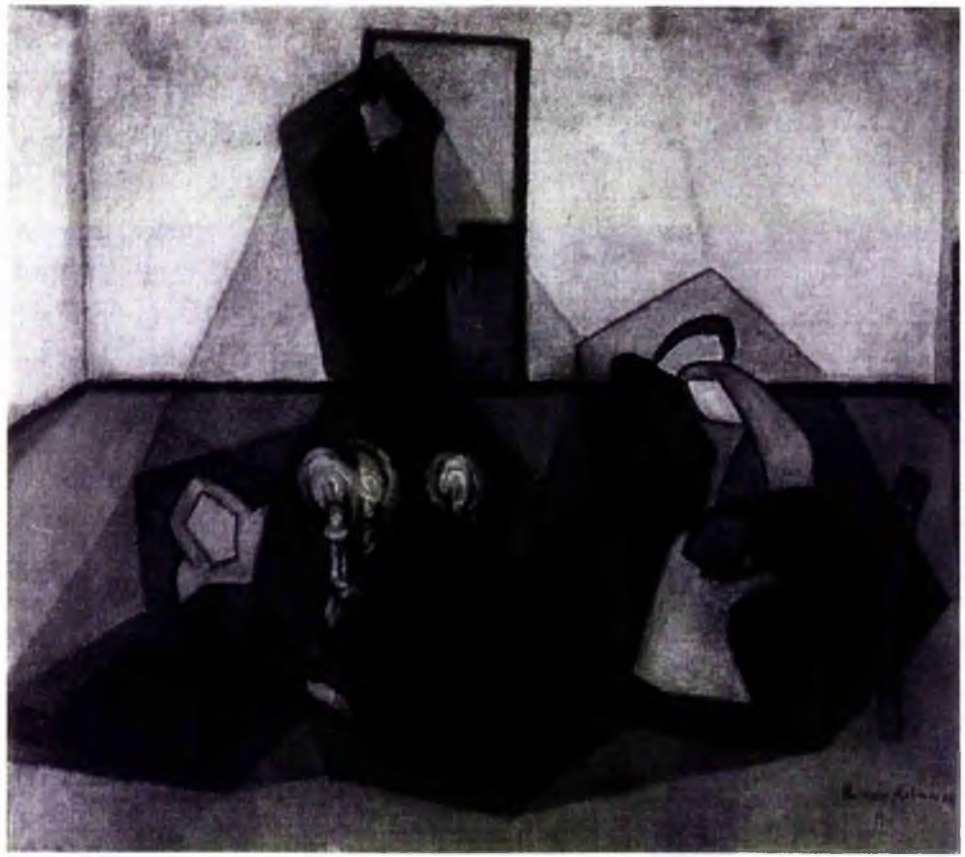
8.29 Shkol'nik, The Provinces, c.1913.

8.30 Zel'manova, Self-Portrait, c.1913.

8.31 Dydyshko, Sheds, 1913.

8.32 Dydyshko, Landscape, c.1910-1913.

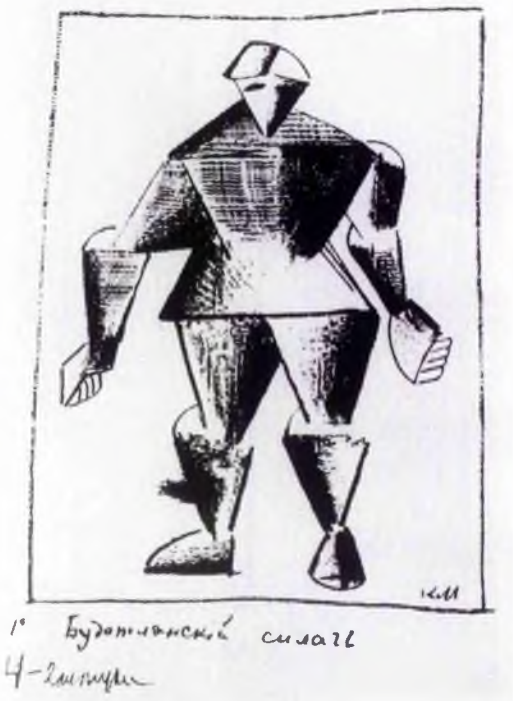
8.33 Puni, Walk in the Sun, c.1912.



8.34 Al'tman, Jewish Funeral, 1911.

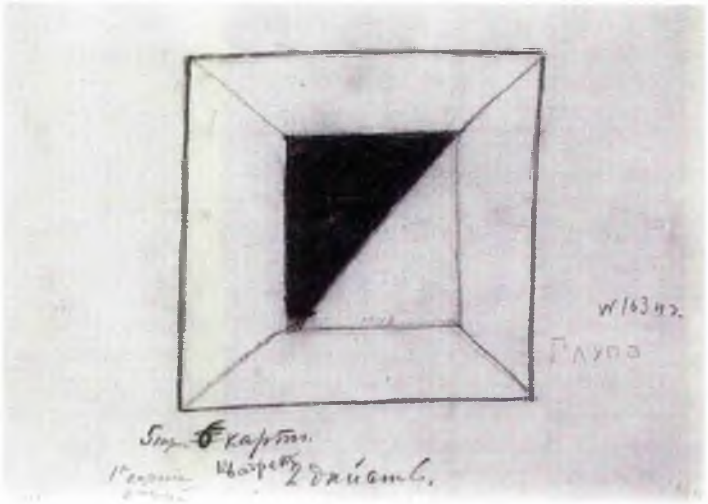
8.35 Advertisement for the "Futurist Theatre", 1913.

8.36 Rozanova, Poster for Futurist Theatre, 1913.

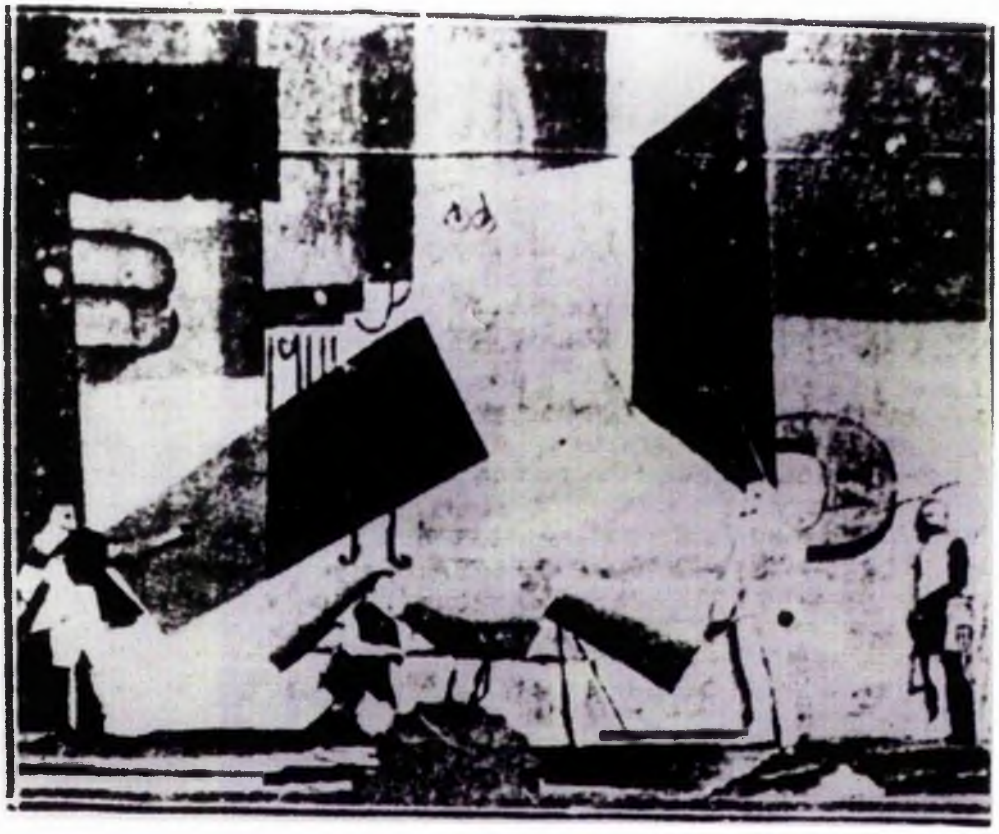


8.37 Malevich, Budetlyan Strongman, 1913.

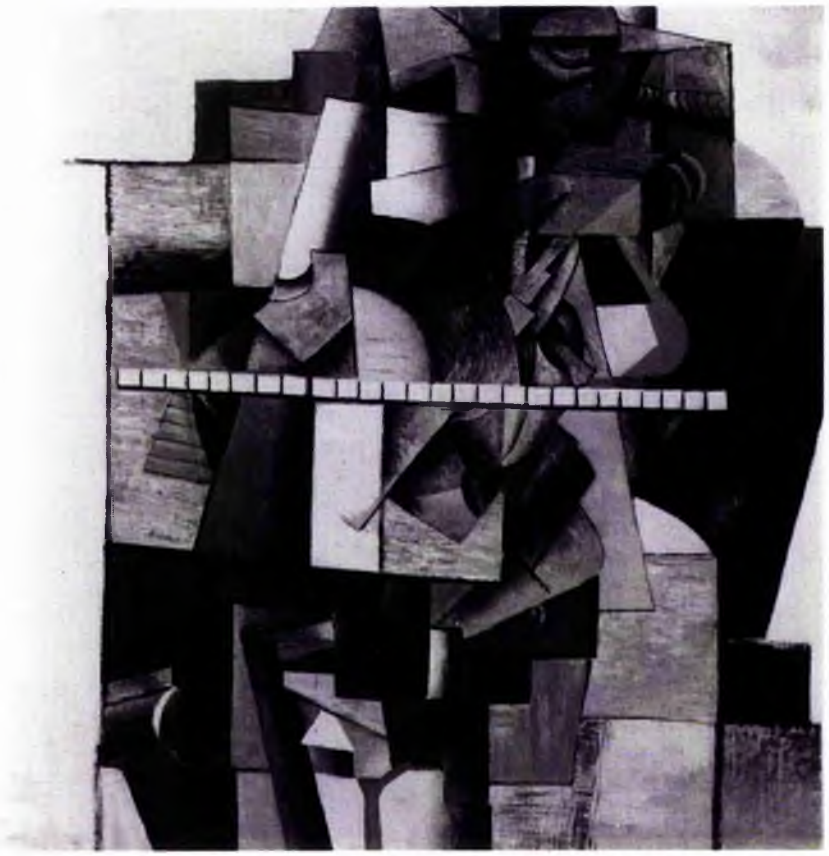
8.38 Malevich, The Mugger, 1913.



8.39 Malevich, Sketch for a Stage Design, 1913.



8.40 Photograph of Stage Design for Victory over the Sun, 1913.



8.41 Malevich, Portrait of Matyushin, 1913.

8.42 Zhivotovskii, Sketch of Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, 1913.

8.43 Shkol'nik, Sketch for a Stage Design, Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, 1913.

8.44 Shkol'nik, Sketch for a Stage Design, Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, 1913.

8.45 Shkol'nik, Sketch for a Stage Design, Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy, 1913.

1.

3.

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1. Каменная статуя о. Пасхи. Лондонъ. Британскій музей.
2. То же, деталь.
3. То же, спина.

8.46 Easter Island Stone Sculpture. Photographs from Markov, The Art of Easter Island, 1914.

4.

5.

6.

7.

Деревянныя скульптуры
о. Пасхи.
4. British Museum.
5. Trocadero.
6. Этнографическій музей. Спб.
7. British Museum.

8.47 Easter Island Wooden Sculpture. Photographs from Markov, The Art of Easter Island, 1914.